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THE HISTORICAL RESULTS OF RECENT EXPLORATION
IN PALESTINE AND IRAQ

THE editor has requested me to discuss the historical information brought to light by exploration in Palestine since the war, but historically Palestine and Iraq are very closely connected, and it happens that discoveries made in Iraq recently have opened new vistas in the beginnings of Hebrew history—that part of Palestinian history which is most widely known. It has accordingly proved impossible to discuss adequately the subject assigned without discussing also the work done in Iraq, therefore it seemed best to enlarge the title of the paper. The full reason for this will appear as we proceed.

The principal explorations and excavations in Palestine since the war have been as follows: caves in the Wady el-Amūd adjacent to the plain of Genneseret in 1925 by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem; at Hammath, on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, by Dr. Schlouch in 1921; at Beisan for the University of Pennsylvania by Dr. Clarence S. Fisher and later by Dr. Rowe from 1921 to the present time; at Megiddo for the University of Chicago by Dr. Fisher from 1926 to the present time; at Taanach by Sellin within the last year; at Balata near Nablus during the last two seasons by Sellin; at Shiloh in 1922 by the Danish scholar, Dr. Aage; at Tel-el-Ful (Gibeah of Saul) by Dr. Albright of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in 1923; on Mount Ophel at Jerusalem for the Palestine Exploration Fund by Professor Macalister and Dr. Duncan from 1923 to the present; Tell-en-Nasbeh by Dean Badè of the Pacific School of Religion, 1926 and 1927; Ain Duk in 1921 by the École Biblique in Jerusalem; the discovery of a Bronze Age "high place" at Bab ed-Dra at the south of the Dead Sea by President Kyle of Xenia Theological Seminary and Dr. Albright in 1924; the excavation of Tel Beit Mirsim sixteen miles southwest of Hebron in 1926 by President Kyle and Dr. Albright; the excavation of Ashkelon by the British School at Jerusalem in 1921-1922 and of Gaza in 1922; the excavation of Gerar by Petrie

in 1927 for the British School of Archaeology in Egypt; and the exploration of Jebeil by M. Montet in 1923-1924. Each of these excavations and explorations has brought to light archaeological objects of some historical importance, though in many cases the result has been only the confirmation of some previously known fact or hypothesis. In some cases historical evidence of unsuspected facts has been produced. This evidence will be presented at a later point.

The excavations in Iraq have not been as numerous, but they have been significant. The work of Thompson, Hall, and Woolley at Abu Sharein, Ur, and Tell Obeid carried on nearly every winter from 1918-1919 to the present time has brought to light much that fills in details of ancient Babylonian history as previously known, and also makes some important additions. Not only have inscriptions of the earliest historical Babylonian dynasty been found, but pottery of an earlier time, similar to that found in the second stratum at Susa and that found by Pumpelly at Anau, east of the Caspian Sea. This discovery seems to show that Babylonian history was begun by a race akin to the Elamites and the people of Central Asia and that they were in the Mesopotamian alluvium before the Sumerians came there.

From 1923 to 1926 Captain Mackay excavated on the site of ancient Kish. There were discovered two hundred tablets which are said to be in pictographic writing, as well as eight skulls which are said to belong to two different races, and which will be discussed later. A work equally important historically was done in 1925 by Professor Chiera of the University of Pennsylvania, who excavated for the Iraq Museum and the American School at Baghdad a little mound at Nuzi near Kirkuk. He discovered an archive of about a thousand tablets written in Assyrian about 1500 B.C. or earlier by a non-Semitic people, whose seals revealed an art kindred to the art of Elam. During the winter of 1926-1927 Dr. E. A. Speiser, of the American School at Baghdad, has made extensive archaeological surveys in the same region, finding similar pottery as well as pottery of the same type as that found at Anau, Susa, Abu Sharein, and Tell Obeid. These discoveries show that east of ancient Assyria there was a cultural bridge northward of Elam connecting that culture in all probability with that of Central Asia. In addition to these, five days' digging was done in 1923 by Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme at 'Ashâra on the Euphrates, the site of the ancient kingdom of Hana, which seems to have flourished about 1800-1600 B.C.

In the autumn of 1925-1926 Dr. Albright and Professor Dougherty made an archaeological journey up the valley of the Eleutheros

and Orontes to Aleppo, thence down the Euphrates to Baghdad, picking up potsherds from many tells. They secured some historical data of importance which will have to be taken into account.

Into the fabric of our new historical information concerning Palestine there is also to be woven material gained by the decipherment of the cuneiform tablets from Boghaz K i in Asia Minor. A good deal of the work on these has been done since the close of the war. These tablets reveal the fact that the peoples to whom we have given the general name of Hittites were a mixture of races. No less than six languages are recorded in these tablets in addition to the Sumerian and Akkadian of Babylonia. There is Kanish usually called Hittite, Luyyish, Balish, Proto-Hittite (called in the tablets Hittite), Hurri, and the language of the Manda. Of these, Kanish (later Hittite), Luyyish, and possibly Balish are Indo-European tongues; Proto-Hittite, Hurri, and Manda are non-Indo-European. They are of course non-Semitic. Their racial affinities are not yet determined, but the historical fact is that this congeries of peoples pushed down into Palestine and contributed an element to its inhabitants which was a determining factor in differentiating the physical characteristics of the Hebrews from those of the southern Semites, of whom we may take the Arabs as the type; but of this we shall speak later. Such are the sources of the new historical information concerning these lands. We now turn to the important additions to our knowledge which they have made, taking these additions in chronological order.

Before attempting to appraise the additions to historical knowledge made by these excavations and explorations it may not be out of place to give, for the benefit of those who may not be experts in Palestinian history, a brief statement of our previous knowledge of the history of that land. We knew that it had been occupied in both palaeolithic and neolithic times. The remains of a neolithic race of cave-dwellers had been found in the maritime plain and sporadic traces of them appeared also elsewhere. It was thought that their occupation dated from about 3000 to 2500 B.C. We knew that two Babylonian kings, Lugalzaggisi and Sargon of Agade, made incursions into the West and reached the Mediterranean Sea between 2800 and 2700 B.C.; that Semites (probably Amorites) occupied the country about 2500 B.C.; that the Canaanites pushed into it between 1800 and 1700 B.C.; that Aramaeans also invaded it between 1400 and 1300 B.C.; that the Egyptians under Thothmes III. conquered it before 1450 B.C. and that they dominated it until about 1200 B.C.; that the Hebrews conquered it about 1200 B.C. or soon after that.

With the Hebrew occupation that portion of Palestinian history contained in the Bible begins and one does not need to recall the disorganized period of the Judges, the reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon, the divided kingdom, the Babylonian Exile, the reorganization of the Jewish state by Nehemiah and Ezra, the domination of Persia, the Ptolemies and the Seleucidae, the Maccabean revolt, the freedom of the Asmonaeon dynasty, the subjugation to Rome, the revolt and destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., the terrible revolt of 132-135 A.D., the colony of Aelia Capitolina, the revival under Constantine and prosperity under the Byzantine emperors, the invasion of Chosroes, the Mohammedan conquest, the rule of caliphs, the barbarity of Seljuk Turks, the Crusades and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Eyyubides and their successors, and the Turks and their misrule. This outline of knowledge is common property. The additions to it made by recent exploration have to do mainly with the earlier portions of the history.

The British excavation of the caves in the Wady el-Amūd brought to light the skull of a man of the Neanderthal type,¹ proving that Palestine was inhabited by a race kindred in development to that found at Neanderthal and belonging to the same cultural level. The implements and artifacts found with it were of the type called "Mousterian", such as were found in Europe in the same stratum with the Neanderthal man. The skull found was that of a young man about twenty-five years of age, and exhibited traces of healed injuries or of disease. It is not identical with that of the Neanderthal man, but clearly belongs to the same type. The brain capacity was about 1400 cubic centimetres, somewhat less than that of European men of this type. No chronology of this remote past is possible, but it seems probable that this discovery shows that Palestine was inhabited earlier than we had supposed. It has for some time been known that this country was populated in the early stone age. Implements of this period had been found in the maritime plain, on the elevated land south of Jerusalem, to the south of Amman in Transjordan, and in some caves in Phoenicia excavated by Père Zumoffin, of the University of St. Joseph, Beirut. A tentative date of 10,000 B.C. had been assigned to the beginning of this palaeolithic culture. The new discovery makes it still earlier.

Another historical result of the investigations of the past ten years, which is of prime importance, though perhaps this, like the

¹ See *Bulletin No. 7 of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, 1925, and *Researches in Prehistoric Galilee*, ed. F. Turville-Petrie, 1927, a publication of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. The latter contains a "Report on the Galilee Skull", by Sir Arthur Keith.

Neanderthal man in Palestine, belongs rather to prehistory than to history, is the new knowledge that has come to us of the origin of the Hebrew people. This knowledge is due, not to discoveries made in Palestine itself, but to those in Babylonia, Assyria, and Boghaz Kōi which have been already described. The Hebrew language is a Semitic language, closely related to the Arabic, though, as linguists have long recognized, not representing the primitive Semitic type so perfectly as Arabic does. We used to imagine the nations which speak Semitic languages as all having tolerably pure Semitic blood flowing in their veins, and it was thought necessary to postulate long periods of separation from one another in which the divergencies of one Semitic language from another could develop. It is now evident, however, that few nations, if any, are of one somatic stock, and that no nation which occupies a land like Palestine, which for centuries upon centuries has been a bridge between more fertile lands—a bridge for the possession of which races alien from one another have contended—can possibly have preserved in its purity the blood of any one of these races.

If we take the Arabs, who speak the purest Semitic language, as representing the purest Semitic type, it is noteworthy that their physical characteristics are strikingly different from those of the Hebrews. The Arabs are long-headed; the Hebrews round-headed; the Hebrews have prominent noses; the Arabs do not. Indeed the eminent ethnologist Dr. Hrdlička calls the Hebrew type Semitic, but the Arabian type he thinks corresponds more closely to that of the Mediterranean race. The same eminent authority claims that the centre of the Semitic type is Asia Minor, and that this Semitic type forms the substratum of the population across northern Mesopotamia, ancient Assyria, Persia, and northern India. To such a degree has this type predominated over other strains that have been imposed upon it, that Dr. Hrdlička claims that what he calls the "Semitic" type prevails to-day throughout the region mentioned.

While we must accept on Dr. Hrdlička's authority the fact of the prevalence of this somatic type throughout the geographic area where he has found it, we venture to regard his nomenclature as unfortunate because, strictly speaking, incorrect. Because the Jews are called Semites, and antipathy to the Jews has been called "anti-Semitism", Dr. Hrdlička apparently has mistaken the Jewish type for the Semitic type, whereas it is clear to the Semitic student that the Jews differ from the original Semitic type by just those features which Dr. Hrdlička calls Semitic. The reasons for the statement just made are as follows.

1. The Semitic languages are closely related to the Hamitic, which comprise ancient Egyptian, the Berber dialects, the dialects of Somaliland, and a few others. The evidence for this seemed to the writer convincing when he wrote his *Sketch of Semitic Origins* more than twenty-five years ago (see pp. 9 ff. of that work) but is much stronger to-day.² As the Hamites form the substratum of the population in Somaliland, Abyssinia, and through the whole region north of the Sahara Desert, they can not be late comers into that region. It is probable that that region is the original home of the Hamito-Semitic stock, and that the ancestors of the original Semitic stock crossed from that continent into Asia. When *Semitic Origins* was written the writer thought it probable that they had crossed by the isthmus of Suez, but he now thinks it more probable that the crossing was via the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, at the southern extremity of Arabia. Reinisch³ has shown that waves of Hamitic influence surged as far eastward as southern Babylonia as late as the dynasty of Larsa, about 2300-2100 B.C. This influence implies migration from Somaliland across southern Arabia. If migrations occurred in this direction then, why not earlier? That they did occur earlier is evidenced by the likeness of the Arabian somatic type to that of the Hamites,⁴ and its difference from the prevailing type of Asia Minor. It has long been held by the most competent authorities that Arabia was the home-land and distributing point for the Semitic peoples. Sporadic attempts to suggest other hypotheses and to suggest other home-lands for the Semites have been made during the last few years,⁵ but they have been particularly weak and have created far more difficulties than they have solved. It is not necessary here to refute them. They have fallen of their own weight.

2. The faces pictured on the Hittite monuments of Asia Minor represent that race as possessing an aquiline nose which is now characteristic of the Jew, and which is also characteristic of the ancient Assyrians as their monuments show. As pointed out above, the language which the ancient rulers of Hittite-City at Boghaz Kõi called Hittite, and which, to distinguish it from the Indo-European

² See W. H. Worrell, *A Study of Races in the Ancient Near East* (N. Y., 1927), ch. IV.

³ Cf. L. Reinisch, *Das Persönliche Fürwort und die Verbalflexion in den Chamito-Semitischen Sprachen* (Vienna, 1909), pp. 1-47.

⁴ Cf. Luschan in the appendix to Meinhoff's *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, pp. 241 ff.

⁵ Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites* (New Haven, 1919), and J. P. Peters, "The Home of the Semites" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXIX. 243-260.

Kanish which these rulers spoke, we call Proto-Hittite, was not an Indo-European language. Similarly the tongue of the Hurri, who, as information from the Boghaz Koi tablets and the tablets discovered by Dr. Chiera near Kirkuk proves, lived on both sides of the ancient Assyrians, was not an Indo-European language. The same has to be said of the language of the Mitanni, who, in the fourteenth century B.C., lived between the Hurri and the Euphrates, and specimens of whose speech are found in the El-Amarna letters. They were clearly close kinsmen of the Hurri. Now it has been known for some time that in early times a fine type of pottery was made in northern Syria which was similar to early pottery found at Susa in ancient Elam. The late Professor Clay explained its presence there by positing a Semitic empire of Amurru in that region in the fourth millennium before Christ. There is now, however, convincing proof that the Amurru (Amorites) did not appear until a thousand or fifteen hundred years later than Clay supposed, and the problem of the presence of this pottery has been unexpectedly explained in a different way. Professor Chiera's excavation at Nuzi, near Kirkuk, not only brought to light a new type of art, but linguistic evidence that the tablets were produced in a Hurri community. Dr. E. A. Speiser, annual professor in the American School at Baghdad 1926-1927, has carried the investigation further. Under date of March 5, 1927, he wrote from Kirkuk as follows.

After a week of enforced stay in Baghdad I took up the survey SW of Kirkuk with a radius of about thirty miles from that town. Most of the tells which I studied there lie in a desert for which but incomplete and very inaccurate maps are available. At times it was necessary to make a map of my own. . . .

The results of this second part of my survey (counting Sulaimania and Hala as the first part) are very satisfactory, and to a great extent unexpected.

In the desert west of Taza Hurmatu and Tang I came upon two immense mounds eight miles apart. One of them is 3200 feet in circumference. But it is not to these ancient sites, nor to the half dozen other mounds which were visited and studied in the course of the last week that I wish to refer especially in the present letter. What I have in mind is a series of neolithic mounds strewn over the same area. The flints and obsidian flakes picked up on these tells are of various shapes and sizes.

However, Professor Chiera also found flints in Viranshehr. The only bit of information (though a very interesting and important one) to be gained from them is that there was a large Stone Age community in the valley between the foothills of the Zagros and the Jebel Hamrin.

But we are now in a position to say something about that community. The evidence of pottery comes in here to shed a ray of brilliant light upon that prehistoric people. For on Tell-edh-Dhiyab, a large mound on the Tang River, seven and a half miles south of the village of Tang, lat. 44° 25' N., long. 35° 3' E., there are found fragments of the same pottery that

has been identified with the first civilization of Susa and the "prehistoric" site at Tell-el-Obeid near Ur—the same geometrical designs in black paint on a light background, the same extraordinarily fine ware. The resemblance is so complete that fragments of pottery which I picked up at Tell-el-Obeid, while visiting the excavation at Ur about three months ago, cannot be in any way distinguished from the sherds of Tell-edh-Dhiyab. I found similar fragments on other neolithic mounds in the neighborhood of Tang (*e.g.*, on Teppe Talmar, 10 miles NW) but not in the same quantities as on the "Mound of Wolves" (Tell-edh-Dhiyab).

In his brilliant study on pottery in the Near East, Frankfort connects the inhabitants of the earliest times (non-Semitic and non-Sumerian settlements around the head of the Persian Gulf) with the people of Anatolia who produced similar ware. He is, however, unable to show evidence of a channel that must have connected the two regions. Such evidence has now been found. If we add the obsidian flakes and painted fragments discovered by the late L. W. King at Kuyunjik we are able to reconstruct a well-marked course that leads from Anatolia through (Carchemish) Nineveh, passed west of Kirkuk, and reached Susa by way of Khanagin, or even more probably through Mendili. The southwestern limit before the Persian Gulf was reached was evidently the eastern bank of the Tigris.

In this connection there is another highly interesting point to be made. In the brief study of the "New Factor in the History of the Ancient Near East", *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 1926 [vol. VI.], Professor Chiera and myself have traced exactly the same course on philological grounds. The evidence of archaeology adds now its independent corroboration to that theory. It is, of course, a long jump from 4000 B.C. to the "Hurri-Mitanni" period. But the distance of 2500 years merely serves to broaden our scope of *time* which we must allot to the non-Semitic, non-Sumerian, non-Indo-European, and in themselves probably homogeneous races that extended originally from Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf.

In the passage just quoted Dr. Speiser has admirably stated the case. The evidence for the presence of this unsuspected race in the region referred to is abundant and convincing. This race was occupying Assyria long before Semites came to it. We now know that every nation is the product of a melting pot, and the ancient Assyrians were no exception to the rule. In them the Semitic element imposed its language on the composite product, but the Semites must in the beginning have been far fewer than the non-Semitic Hurri who formed the aboriginal stock (or who, if not aboriginal, at least preceded the Semites), for they imposed on the race which resulted from the amalgamation their own facial features. This is why the facial type which appears in Assyrian sculptures differs from that which appears in the Akkadian sculptures of Babylonia.

To the northwest of Assyria Aryans mingled with the Hurri substratum and formed the Mitanni nation, but, while the ruling class still worshipped such Aryan gods as Indra, Mitra, and Varuna, they

did not succeed in imposing their language on the country. In Anatolia just the opposite happened. A ruling race of Indo-Europeans conquered the Proto-Hittites and imposed upon them their language—the Kanish—but the aboriginal Anatolian stock, which was kindred to the Hurri, so prevailed over the infiltration of Indo-European blood that the Hittite portraits bear its facial characteristics.

This excursion into prehistory, which has taken us far from Palestine, has a direct bearing upon Palestinian history, for according to Biblical tradition Abraham migrated first from Ur of the Chaldees to Harran in the Hurri country, and from Harran to Palestine. Historical scholars now generally recognize that these traditions represent tribal migrations, and there is much to be said for this view. If Amorites, Canaanites, or Aramaeans migrated along the Babylonian border (as there is evidence in the cuneiform inscriptions that they did) to upper Mesopotamia, and later went from there to Palestine, it is altogether probable that Hurri clans from Mesopotamia migrated to Palestine too, for the conditions which would compel Semites to migrate would affect the Hurri population also. We also hear of Hittites in Palestine in the time of Abraham, and the name of Abdi-Hepa, king of Jerusalem in the El-Amarna period, had as its second element the name of a Hittite and Mitannian deity. There is in the words of the prophet Ezekiel, "the Amorite was thy father, and thy mother a Hittite" (Ez. xvi. 3), a truth which we had not suspected. Whether we can yet tell just how it happened or not, there was a large infiltration of the blood of that stock, to which the Hurri and Proto-Hittites belonged, in the Hebrew people. It was that which gave them that characteristic facial expression which Professor Hrdlička calls Semitic, and which differs so markedly from the Arabic.

In connection with the Abrahamic migration it is interesting to note that the discoveries made since the war afford some basis for reaffirming the Biblical dating of Abraham. It is now customary to date the Exodus from Egypt at about 1200 B.C., and, if the Biblical statements that this occurred 430 years after Abraham sojourned in Egypt were true, the Abrahamic migration occurred between 1600 and 1700 B.C. On the other hand, in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis it is stated that Abraham fought with four kings who had invaded Palestine—Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goim (or the nations). It has long been customary to identify Amraphel with Hammurabi, Shinar with Sumir, Arioch of Ellasar with Warad-Sin king of Larsa (though a number of scholars have regarded this as more than doubtful), Chedorlaomer with Kukukumal of certain Baby-

lonian inscriptions, since the cuneiform name could be read Kudur-tukulmal, and Tidal with Tudkhula of the same inscriptions. One difficulty with these identifications has always been that they place Abraham about 2100 B.C., at least 400 years earlier than the Bible does.

Dr. W. F. Albright has proposed⁶ a different set of identifications for the individuals mentioned in Genesis xiv. which, if they turn out to be true, will do away with the chronological difficulty and place Abraham in the period of time where the Bible puts him. Dr. Albright's theory was suggested in part by archaeological considerations forced upon his attention by exploration in Palestine (of these we shall speak later), in part by the names of some kings mentioned in tablets found at 'Ashāra by Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme in 1923. He connects Arioch with the son of Tukulti-belit-ilani, who ruled in northern Mesopotamia about 1800 B.C.; Shinar he equates with Singara instead of Sumer; and he remarks concerning Tidal that at least five Hittite kings bore the name Tudkhalia. For Amraphel he has found no satisfactory equivalent, though he suggests two or three hypothetical possibilities. As yet it is impossible to prove this theory, since this period has been one of the most obscure in the history of Western Asia. We have sadly lacked historical documents from this time, and only now are beginning to see a little light. The theory, however, deserves attention. It strikes the writer as inherently probable. Should it prove true, it would relieve a great chronological difficulty.

While discussing Abraham it is fitting to refer to a discovery which appears to show that there may be a historical core to the half-mythical account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, connected with the accounts of Abraham. In February and March, 1924, President Kyle of Xenia Theological Seminary and Dr. Albright, accompanied by Père Mallon and others, explored the region to the south of the Dead Sea, looking for traces of Zoar, Sodom, and Gomorrah (Gen. xiv. 23, 24). Of the sites of these Biblical cities they found not a trace, but a site was discovered which may have been the Zoar of the Byzantine and Arabian periods, but its potsherds revealed no trace of earlier habitation. Nevertheless the expedition made an important discovery at Bab ed-Dra, about 500 feet above the level of the Dead Sea. Here was a fortress, consisting of an elongated enclosure of stone, built on the edge of a cliff overlooking a deep ravine on the south. There was a slight rise in the ground, along the edge of which a wall was constructed of large field stones, seldom or never shaped. The space enclosed was approximately

⁶ *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, X. 231-269.

1050 feet long and 325 feet wide, but very irregular in form. On the ravine side no wall was found. Whether none was deemed necessary or whether one had existed and had been carried away by landslides, the expedition was unable to determine. The wall, where it existed, was on the average about twelve feet thick, with a glacis on the outside about fifteen feet high. The explorers thought that the original height of the wall was not much greater than its present height, since the amount of loose stone along its base was comparatively small. In places where it was carried up a steep slope the wall was built in steps which still are preserved. Most of the enclosed space was left unoccupied, but there were found the foundations of a number of rectangular buildings with walls of field stones. The absence of any deposit or debris except along the walls or near the bases of buildings led the explorers to infer that this was the site of a fortified camp and not a town. Outside the fortress, especially on the southern side, the ground is strewn with the foundations of round and square stone enclosures, which seem to have been houses, in nearly all of which a hearth may still be traced. In and around these enclosures are scattered potsherds, flint artifacts, loom-weights, spindle-whorls, and millstones, as well as other objects. The pottery found both inside and outside the fortress indicated that the occupation began about 2800 B.C. and terminated about 1800 B.C. About the settlement were a number of graves, some of which have been opened by the Arabs, the contents of which date from the same period. About fifteen minutes' walk east of the fortress was found a group of six fallen limestone monoliths or *maššebahs*, and the broken fragments of a seventh. These apparently once stood in a "high place" such as is often spoken of in the Old Testament. As there is no limestone in the Ghor, these stones must have been brought here from a distance as was the most sacred of the monoliths at Gezer. Mesha king of Moab, in his famous inscription, boasts of having dragged before his god the *ariel* of Yahweh.

Père Mallon and Dr. Albright do not regard this as the remains of a city, but a "high place". The foundations of dwellings they regard as foundations of temporary abodes in which the worshippers sojourned during the spring and autumn festivals, which corresponded to the Hebrew Passover and Tabernacles. The people, they think, came on their donkeys, driving animals for sacrifice which were skinned with flint knives and scrapers, while women brought with them their spinning, so as not to be idle during the time of their sojourn. The presence of the *maššeboth* lends probability to this theory, though in the judgment of the writer it is not entirely certain that the foundations were not those of the permanent dwellers of a

settlement, who, instead of fortifying their dwellings, erected a fortress into which they could retreat in case of attack.

On the theory that these structures existed for temporary dwellings for those attending festivals at the "high place", the question arises, whence did the worshippers come? From the high lands of Moab 4000 feet above, or were there cities in the Ghor from which they came? The explorers rightly conclude on many grounds that it is improbable that the Moabite mountaineers came down here to worship, since, except in winter, the heat would be intolerable to them, and none of their feasts came in winter. They accordingly infer that there must have existed during the period 2800-1800 B.C. cities in the Ghor. According to Genesis xviii. and xix. Zoar, Sodom, and Gomorrah were situated here and were destroyed by a great cataclysm in the days of Abraham. It has been proved that the water of the Dead Sea is gradually rising, and while north of the Lisan (the peninsula which juts out into it from the eastern shore) it is from 1200 to 1500 feet deep, south of that peninsula it averages only 15 or 16 feet in depth. It is altogether probable that at the time indicated by the potsherds and artifacts cities flourished on ground now covered by the sea. Oases still exist in the still un-submerged plain to the south of the sea, several of which were populated in the Middle Ages, though but one of them is inhabited now. It is a striking fact that the archaeological remains found at Bab ed-Dra indicate that the place was abandoned at about the time that Biblical tradition places the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. These facts lend some probability to the view that there is a historical kernel underlying the legendary Biblical accounts of this event.

While speaking of Abraham it is most fitting to mention another fact. Macalister and Duncan, excavating on Ophel, the site of ancient Jerusalem, discovered a hitherto unsuspected valley on the north of Jebusite Jerusalem running east from the Tyropean Valley. This valley formed a natural defense along about half of the city's northern exposure. The excavators named it Zedek, for an old deity of Jerusalem whose name forms one element in the name Melchizedek. The valley Zedek is believed to have been excavated by a stream which, in the Tertiary period, is thought to have flowed from a cave which the excavators also found in the vicinity. This valley had been extended eastward by a rock-cut trench ten or twelve feet in breadth and eight feet deep on the average.⁷ This, together with the wall which rose above it, formed the defense of the city on the north. In this rock-cut trench two causeways, each raised about two feet above the floor of the trench, and each about two feet broad,

⁷ *Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, IV. 31 ff.

were left to facilitate ingress and egress to and from the city. Rude rock-cut steps led down to them at each end. These steps had been destroyed at the southern end (that nearest the city). It was probably purposely broken as a means of defense during some siege earlier than any recorded in history. The trench was filled with potsherds from the period 2000-1600 B.C., a fact which shows that it had been filled up and disused as a means of defense some six hundred years before the time of King David. At the southern end of the eastern causeway the excavators found what they believe to have been the earliest altar in Jerusalem. The rock had been so cut in making the stairway that a rounding top was left that could easily serve as an altar. It was surrounded by cup-marks such as usually appear in Palestine about altars and sacred stones, and a number of bones of domestic animals were found near it. The presence of the altar at this place suggests that a stranger entering the city offered a sacrifice to the god of the place. The excavators recall that Abraham gave a tenth of his spoil to Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 20), and suppose that it was as a sacrifice. The presence of this altar lends plausibility to the theory. It may be to this altar rather than to the old sacred stone now under the "Dome of the Rock" (the Mosque of Omar) farther up the hill that the story of the attempted sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. xxii.) should be attached. The writer, however, regards this as most doubtful.

The writer has long held that the patriarchal narratives in the Bible represent the movements of tribes and their history rather than the history of individuals. On this view Abraham is one of the names by which the Hebrews expressed their sense of unity as a nation, embalmed traditions of the history of some of their constituent parts, and entwined with these certain old Palestinian traditions.⁸ Nothing in the discoveries of the last decade tends to prove that view wrong. No discovery has been made which proves the Abraham of the Bible a real individual. The tendency, however, of the discoveries concerning the Abrahamic period which we have passed in review is to show that the Biblical traditions concerning this time contain a greater measure of real historical material, and reflect facts and historical conditions of the period in which the Bible places Abraham, to a degree much greater than we had dared to hope.

In following up the problem of the racial elements of which the Hebrews were composed and the Abrahamic traditions so closely connected with this problem we have deviated somewhat from the chronological sequence of events. We now turn back to consider one or two aspects of earlier history.

⁸ *The Religion of Israel* (N. Y., 1918), ch. II.

The researches of the French at Jebail, the ancient Gebal (Byblos), have been fruitful of important historical results. It is now clear that there was an Egyptian outpost at Gebal as early as the Old Kingdom, 3000-2500 B.C. It appears that there was no extensive Egyptian occupation of the country at that time, but an Egyptian settlement was established at Gebal and this colony maintained a temple there. Beneath the pavement of the Egyptian temple was found a layer of vessels of alabaster and red pottery (most of them broken), some of which were inscribed with the names of Menkaure, of the IVth Egyptian dynasty, Unis of the Vth, and Pepi I. and Pepi II. of the VIth.⁹ It is this pottery which establishes the historical fact that the Egyptian colony was settled here in the time of the Old Kingdom. It is probable that this Egyptian outpost in the Lebanon was maintained for the sake of securing cedar for the buildings and boats, sacred and otherwise, in which the Egyptian kings were interested. We know that long centuries afterward Wenamon made a journey to Gebal at great risk for this purpose.¹⁰

Perhaps the most important historical result of the explorations of recent years is that at last the riddle of the origin of the Phoenician alphabet has been solved. This solution has come about from inscriptions found at Serabit-el-Khadem by Petrie in 1905,¹¹ though an important link in tracing the chain of development is an inscription found in a XIIth dynasty tomb at Jebail in 1923. The inscriptions found by Petrie were clearly in a script adapted from the Egyptian hieroglyphs, but no one could readily read them and they excited little interest for more than ten years after their discovery. The credit of having perceived their true character belongs to Professor Alan H. Gardiner, the distinguished Egyptologist, who, in an article entitled "The Origin of the Semitic Alphabet",¹² published in 1916, showed that a number of the characters in these inscriptions are intermediate between certain Egyptian hieroglyphs and letters of the Semitic alphabet. The work has since been taken up by Cowley,¹³ Sethe,¹⁴ and others, and the thesis laid down by Gardiner is now clearly established. Hugo Grimme gave new zest to the study of these inscriptions by the publication in 1923 of his book

⁹ Cf. Montet in *Comptes Rendus*, 1922, pp. 7-20; 1923, pp. 84-96.

¹⁰ See Breasted, *Ancient Records, Egypt*, IV, 278 ff.; G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, fifth ed., pp. 410 ff.

¹¹ See Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (London, 1906); cf. *Syria*, V, 135 ff.

¹² See *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, III, 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17 ff.

¹⁴ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXX. (1926)

Althebräische Inschriften vom Sinai, in which he so read a number of the inscriptions as to find the name Moses in them, and he interpreted one of them so that it made Moses say that Hatshepsut, the famous Egyptian queen of the XVIIIth dynasty, drew him out of the water. All serious epigraphists, however, regard Grimme's readings as impossible. The stones have weathered during the centuries, and a number of the lines which Grimme interpreted as letters are clearly grooves worn by the weather.

Sethé and others now regard the inscriptions as the work of the time of the XIIth Egyptian dynasty, not, as Petrie and Grimme thought, of the XVIIIth. This is doubtless correct. It pushes the origin of the Phoenician alphabet back to about 2000 B.C. and demonstrates that it was derived from Egyptian hieroglyphs, as De Rougé surmised a century ago. This definitely proves that those who derived the alphabet from Babylonian cuneiform writing, or Cretan pictographs, or the pottery-marks found on ancient Libyan pottery were all wrong. The inscriptions found in Sinai were written by Semites and do honor to the Semitic goddess Baalath. They are written in a dialect that is practically identical with Phoenician and the Hebrew of the Old Testament. There can be little doubt but that the Semites who composed these inscriptions were Amorites, for the Egyptian Sinuhe, who fled to Sinai near the beginning of the XIIth dynasty, was rescued in this very region by a sheik named Emuishi,¹⁵ whose name has long been recognized as Amorite. Its first element is *'Amm-*, an element that forms a part of a large number of Amorite names. This fact increases the importance of these inscriptions. Outside of proper names they are the only examples of the Amorite language that have been discovered. If they are Amorite, the late Professor Clay was right in equating Amorite with Hebrew, though mistaken as to the antiquity of the Amorites.

The Sinaitic origin of the alphabet explains how it could be transmitted to South Arabia, where it underwent an independent development, and appears in inscriptions from 1200 B.C. or earlier. It was also carried almost at once to Phoenicia, as the inscription of a certain Ahiiram, found by Montet in a tomb of the time of the XIIth dynasty, shows. Ahiiram's inscription is in a more developed script than that of the Sinai inscriptions, being intermediate between those and the script of the Moabite Stone (850 B.C.), the oldest writing in the Phoenician alphabet previously known.

¹⁵ See Breasted, *Ancient Records, Egypt*, I. 494; Paton, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, p. 28, and Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, fifth ed., pp. 334 ff. The name is evidently the same as the South Arabian name Ammi-'anisa and was probably pronounced Ammi-anishi.

The solution of the problem of the origin of the alphabet is, perhaps, the most important contribution to ancient history made in recent years.

Another discovery which has some surprising aspects has resulted from the excavation of Tell-en-Nasbeh by Dean Badè of the Pacific School of Religion. Here a city wall has been uncovered which has a thickness of from sixteen to twenty feet—which is considerably greater than that of any other Palestinian city hitherto excavated. The wall still stands to a height of twenty feet and possesses a glacis which indicates that, when intact, it was forty feet in height—a height considerably greater than that of the wall of any other ancient Palestinian city known to us. It was a mighty fortress indeed! The pottery found in the lower strata of the excavation seems to show that this wall was built as early as 3000 B.C.—a surprisingly early date for such a structure. Who could have been its builders? One wonders. It is difficult to think of the Egyptians as its creators; there were no cedars here to attract them as was the case in the Lebanon. Were its builders Amorites? This is again hard to believe, for the Amorites centuries later are described as people “who never knew a city”.¹⁶ One thinks of the boasts of Lugalzag-gisi and Sargon I., Babylonian kings who claim to have carried their arms to the Mediterranean, but it is hardly probable that such a city wall was constructed by their followers. Their expeditions were raids for collecting tribute, not expeditions for the founding of permanent settlements. If the excavator is correct in his dating, he has opened up a new problem in the history of Palestine.

The city at Tell-en-Nasbeh continued to be an important site, as the pottery found there proves, down to the Babylonian Exile, but nothing has yet been discovered to determine its name. Dean Badè thinks it Mizpeh. This is possible, but it may also be Zuph (I Sam. ix. 5). Whatever its name, it was certainly a city of importance.

The study of pottery and its classification has placed in the hands of students a new instrument of historical investigation and this has been used by Dr. W. F. Albright with skill for elucidating the history of the Jordan Valley.¹⁷ This scholar has made more than a score of trips to this part of Palestine, visited most of the important sites, collected thousands of samples of potsherds from its tells—potsherds representing every period of the culture which flourished there. From the evidence thus obtained he has reconstructed the history of the Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age, taking

¹⁶ See L. Legrain, *Museum Journal*, 1926, p. 379; and G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, fifth ed., appendixes, II., XIX.

¹⁷ *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, VI. (1926) 13-74.

it up tell by tell, beginning at the sources of the Jordan and proceeding southward step by step to the plain at the south of the Dead Sea. It is not our purpose here to follow him in detail over this ground, since that would take us into many technical details more appropriate to an Oriental or archaeological journal, but the general outcome of the investigation is of historical importance. Dr. Albright is himself struck with the evidence of the great antiquity of the civilization of the Jordan Valley, and to his readers the evidence is no less impressive.

Jericho and Beth-shan were certainly founded before 3000 B.C. and the same antiquity may safely be claimed for a high proportion of the unexcavated mounds. It would seem, moreover, that all the Bronze Age sites in the Jordan Valley were already settled before the end of the third millennium, while most of them probably date back to the first half of that millennium, at least. When we turn to the rest of Palestine we find a strikingly different situation. The towns of the hill-country in the Bronze Age were few and far between, relatively speaking. The vast majority of ancient sites in the mountains were not occupied until the Late Bronze or Early Iron. Jerusalem, owing to its unusually favored position and strategic situation, was one of the first points fortified. The work of Parker, Vincent, Macalister and Duncan has proven that there was a settlement there in the aeneolithic period, towards the beginning of the third millennium, or even earlier. If we turn to the Shephelah and the Coastal Plain, we note that the Early Bronze deposits are generally thin, and do not suggest an intensive occupation before about 2500 B.C., though occupation of a sort there may have been. Ports like Ashkelon and Dor, the only ones so far investigated, do not exhibit strata older than the Middle Bronze, though sections have been cut down to the virgin soil. It is true, however, that further work may reveal an earlier core in the centre of the mounds. . . . In the Plain of Esdraelon we find conditions approximating those in the Jordan Valley. Megiddo, for example, is probably as old as any mound in the Jordan Valley, and its foundation seems to date back into the end of the fourth millennium.¹⁸

Dr. Albright further infers that the Jordan Valley was first occupied because the river supplied an abundance of water, which was wanting in the hills until men had discovered how to construct cisterns, and because at this period the hill-country was largely covered with forests. In the Jordan Valley, however, agriculture is not possible without irrigation, which in consequence he supposes was practised. An irrigation system would mean the draining of the marshes, as in Egypt, and would do away with malaria, which is now prevalent in marshy regions like the country around the Huleh. Dr. Albright thinks that this irrigation culture was produced under the influence of the irrigation cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Although, in the absence of historical records concerning the Jordan Valley at

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, VI., 66 ff.

that period, this conclusion must rest on inference only, it seems altogether reasonable. Again, to quote Dr. Albright:

Man could not conquer the enervating and debilitating heat of the Jordan Valley, which discouraged energy and achievement, while encouraging indolence and luxury. . . . So long as the highlands were covered with bush or forest, and cisterns for catching and holding rain-water had not come into use, the Jordan Valley was almost the only part of the country suited to support a sedentary population. Once the hill-country had been cleared and villages had been established all over it, provided with water from cisterns, the Jordan Valley was abandoned, and served as convenient grazing ground for the flocks of the highland villages, or was planted by them to grain, which was harvested and stored in these villages. . . . During the patriarchal period, according to Hebrew traditions, nomadic tribes wandered freely over the hill-country, while the Canaanites held the Jordan Valley and the Coastal Plain. . . . This tradition is entirely in accord with archaeological fact. The situation naturally forced the Canaanites to fortify their towns strongly, in order to resist the continual razzias to which they were exposed from the hills.¹⁹

This situation continued until about the time of the Hebrew occupation. The Hebrews after their conquest occupied some towns in the upper Jordan Valley, like Laish and Chinnereth, but the cities between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea were, with two or three exceptions, abandoned. Jericho was only rebuilt after several centuries. This interesting historical deduction results from Dr. Albright's painstaking investigations.

Another problem on which the investigations of recent years have thrown some light is that of the origin of the Habiri. It will be remembered that in the winter of 1887-1888 an archive of letters, written to Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., kings of Egypt between 1411 and 1350 B.C., was found at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt. These letters, written in the cuneiform character on clay tablets, came, many of them, from Palestine and Syria, and were addressed to Amenophis IV. between 1375 and 1357 B.C. They reveal in clear perspective an entirely unsuspected epoch in the history of Palestine. Six of these letters were from Abdi-Hepa, king of Jerusalem. In them he complained that a people whom he called Habiri were over-running his land, and appealed to the king of Egypt for aid. Abdi-Hepa's appeal was unheeded, and the Habiri apparently took his country, for the letters soon ceased. From the time of this discovery a number of scholars have held that the Habiri were Hebrews, and this view now prevails. Though it is probably correct in a sense, it raises a number of problems which are not easily solved.

At the time that Abdi-Hepa was writing from Jerusalem another vassal king of Egypt, Rib-Adda of Gebal, was sending similar com-

¹⁹ *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, VI. 68.

plaints from his stronghold in Phoenicia. More than fifty of his letters are included in the El-Amarna collection. He, as well as others to be mentioned later, complains that a people whom he designates by the Sumerian ideogram SA-GAZ^{mes} are plundering the whole region of Phoenicia and Syria as far as the Orontes, and they ultimately took the whole coast from the Orontes to Beirut. At the same time Yapakhi, of Gezer in southern Palestine, informed the king that, unless help came, he would have to submit to the SA-GAZ^{mes}, and other rulers, believed to belong in southern Palestine, also complain of them.²⁰ SA-GAZ is defined in Assyrian texts as *habbatu*, "plunderer", "robber". The late Professor Winckler conjectured when the El-Amarna Letters were first found that the Habiri and the SA-GAZ^{mes} were the same people. From the texts which Winckler afterward discovered at Boghaz Köi we are now able to demonstrate this. Among those tablets are a number which record treaties between various Hittite kings and some of their vassals. After laying down the conditions of the alliance these documents proceed to invoke the blessings of a long list of deities upon the vassal, if he observes the treaty, and a long list of curses, if he violates it. This list of gods and goddesses is practically the same in all of the treaties, whether the document is written in Akkadian or in Hittite. In all, the same gods are introduced and in the same order. Among the deities invoked are in some of the treaties *ilāni* SA-GAZ,²¹ which are invariably placed just before "the male and female deities of the land of Hittite-City". In others at this same point in the list we find instead *ilāni ha-bi-ri*,²² "the gods of the Habiri"—an interchange which proves that the two terms designated the same people.

SA-GAZ means, as we have noted, "robber", "plunderer"; *habiri* has generally been taken to mean "allies", though Albright thinks that it too meant "robber".²³ Whether the people thus designated are or are not the Hebrews of history will be discussed presently. The point that should first be emphasized is that these treaties, combined with the El-Amarna Letters, show that a people that was overrunning Syria and Palestine in the first half of the fourteenth century B.C. was at the same time and also for a century later so prevalent in the regions controlled by Hittites and Hurri that their gods are invoked along with the gods of both these peoples in attesting treaties. We include the Hurri with the Hittites because

²⁰ Knudtzon, *El-Amarna Tafeln*, nos. 273, 274, 305, 318.

²¹ See *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, vol. I., no. 1, rev. 49; no. 3, rev. 5.

²² See *ibid.*, vol. I., no. 4, iv, 29; vol. IV., no. 10, rev. 3; vol. V., no. 3, i, 56; no. 9, iv, 12; and *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, vol. III., no. 7, rev. 4.

²³ *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, VI, 42, n. 88.

one of the treaties in question is between Mattiuaza, son of Dush-ratta, king of Mitanni, and Subbiluliuma, king of Hittite-City. Mattiuaza, though his kingdom is called Mitanni, twice speaks of his people as "we Hurri",²⁴ showing that the Mitanni were really Hurri. Subbiluliuma and Mattiuaza were both contemporaries of Amenophis IV., to whom so many of the El-Amarna Letters from Palestine were written; the Habiri were present, therefore, in the Hurri-land at the same time that they were overrunning Syria and Palestine. We conclude that they were present in large numbers in Hurri-land rather than in the Hittite-country, because Habiri is "philologically equivalent to the Hebrew word which we anglicize as Hebrews", and Biblical tradition tells us that Abraham came to Palestine from Haran in the Hurri-country, and thither Jacob went for his wives. The Habiri must, accordingly, have been resident in that land. Some have supposed that the SA-GAZ were mercenary soldiers who were employed by the Hittites, because in the letters of Rib-Adda they are sometimes referred to as ^{na}bi SA-GAZ^{meš}, "Habiri-soldiers". If they lived in the Hurri-country, however, it would explain why their gods were introduced into the treaty between Subbiluliuma and Mattiuaza, and, when once introduced into the list, their place was secure, since the list became traditional. They may have been employed as soldiers in the armies of the Hittite kings, but that in itself would not explain the presence of their gods in the treaties of Hittite kings.

It is usually assumed that the Habiri were Aramaeans, since some fifty years later than the time of the treaties in which the Habiri first appear Shalmaneser I. of Assyria mentions the Aramaeans as allies of the Hittites in this same region. Shalmaneser's is the earliest written reference to them. Then, too, the Bible calls Jacob (or possibly Abraham) "an Aramaean ready to perish" (Deut. xxvi. 5). As there are no reasons to set against these facts, the inference that the Habiri were Aramaeans is probably in part correct. However, no people moving into a new country keeps its blood pure. Mixture occurs in a variety of ways, some regular and some irregular. Just as the settlement of white men among Indians in America is invariably followed by the birth of half-breeds, so in every land into which a people migrate half-breeds are born. Sometimes they are counted to the original stock; sometimes they are assimilated by the new-comers. Another source of admixture which doubtless operated in this case was the hazardous means of roving and plunder

²⁴ In one case the phrase is *ni-e-nu LU^{meš} hur-ri*, "we men of Hurri"; in the other *ni-e-nu TUR^{meš} hur-ri*, "we sons of Hurri"; see *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, vol. I., no. 3, rev. lines 41 and 44.

by which the Habiri gained their subsistence. For such occupations artificial brotherhoods are formed which in many parts of the world later grow into clans.²⁵ Such artificial brotherhoods for making raids are still sometimes formed in Arabia.²⁶ In forming such brotherhoods the adventurous character of the man counts for much. Doubtless kinsmen are preferred, but men of other stocks who have the right qualifications are preferred to inefficient kinsmen. It seems safe to infer, therefore, that the Habiri were not of pure Semitic blood, but possessed also a considerable infiltration of the blood of the Hurri-stock. Such infiltration is necessary to account for the invocation of their gods in a Hurri-treaty, and also to account for the marked approximation of Jewish physiognomy to the Hurri-Hittite type and its divergence from the Arabian type.

Even if we suppose this to be true, and take it for granted that the Habiri were the Hebrews of history, would the considerations mentioned account for all the facts? It is well known that after the Hebrew conquest of Palestine there was such intermarriage with the Canaanite and Amorite populations that the Hebrews of later history were quite as much the descendants of the pre-Hebrew population as of the Hebrew invaders. Indeed some tribes, as, for example, Asher, were doubtless Amorite or Canaanite tribes who were in the country long before the Hebrews. The Asherites appear in the El-Amarna Letters as worshippers of the goddess Ashera and were called Amorites. They lived in the same region which as Hebrews Asher occupied later.²⁷

If the Habiri were Aramaeans, presumably they spoke Aramaic, though possibly some of them spoke Hurri, but the Hebrews of history spoke another Semitic dialect—the dialect which we call Hebrew. It so happens that the El-Amarna Letters, though written in Akkadian, contain many idioms of the tongue which their writers spoke, and these idioms thus preserved are sufficient to prove that the tongue which was later called Phoenician and Hebrew was already spoken throughout Syria and Palestine before the Hebrews came. It follows, therefore, that the Hebrew invaders of Palestine formed so small a part of the population of the country that they adopted the language of the peoples whom they conquered. Since this is so, the Aramaean strain in later Hebrew blood, even if that strain consisted largely of Hurri, would not be sufficient to account for the divergence

²⁵ Cf. G. A. Barton, *Sketch of Semitic Origins*, pp. 30 ff., and M. Morris in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXV. 231-247.

²⁶ Cf. T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*, pp. 26, 59-62, 64, and 194-197.

²⁷ Cf. G. A. Barton, *The Religion of Israel*, p. 33.

of Jewish physiognomy from the purer Semitic type represented by the Arabs.

It should be remembered, however, that the Amorites, who appear in history pouring from the Arabian desert during the period 2800-2000 B.C., passed up the Euphrates Valley and reached Palestine by way of the Hurri-country, and the Canaanites, who appear to have been simply a later wave of Amorites, and who were pushed westward by that movement of peoples that brought the Cossaeans into Babylonia and the Hyksos into Egypt between 1800 and 1700 B.C., apparently came through the same Hurri-country. The same influences which mixed Hurri-blood with Semitic in the make-up of the Aramaeans must have operated in the case of both these earlier peoples, so that there were large strains of Anatolian-Hurri blood in the Canaanites and Amorites whom the Hebrews conquered, whom they assimilated, and whose language they adopted.

In this connection a further question has been raised with reference to the Hurri. Winckler, after finding them mentioned in tablets from Boghaz Köi, suggested that the Horites, who are said to have been the pre-Semitic inhabitants of ancient Edom (Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 20, 21; and Deut. ii. 12, 22), were really Hurri. The name "Horite" had previously been explained as "cave-dweller", and when in 1902 Macalister discovered that a race of cave-dwellers had actually inhabited Gezer before the coming of Semites there, this explanation of the meaning of the name "Horite" seemed very plausible. Since Professor Chiera's discovery at Nuzi and the demonstration that it reveals to us something of the Hurri, Winckler's theory has been revived, and cautiously urged.²⁸ At present we can not say that it is not true, though it rests upon a very slender foundation. If it were true, it would offer an additional explanation of the way the Anatolian-Hurri physiognomy was transmitted to the Hebrews. The arguments urged in its favor seem, however, to the writer most inconclusive. The existence of this people in Mesopotamia is no guaranty that they were also in ancient Edom. The presence of gazelles and deer in Edomite proper names and on Hurri seals is not necessarily an argument for identity; such animals are natives of both countries regardless of the origin of its human inhabitants. To the writer the identity seems highly improbable. The one argument which may have some weight is the fact that in early Egyptian texts Palestine is called *Ruteni* (philologically equivalent to the Hebrew *Lotan*, Gen. xxxvi. 22), whereas, after the XIIth dynasty, the Egyptian name for Palestine is *H-r*. *H-r* might repre-

²⁸ Cf. Chiera and Speiser, "A New Factor in the History of the Ancient East", *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, VI., especially pp. 80 f.

sent either Horite or Hurri. If it represented Horite, however, one would have expected it to be the earlier name, since the description of Rutenu in the tale of Sinuhe—a XIIth dynasty document—implies that it is a land of settled abodes. If H-r is the Egyptian for Hurri, the Hurri would seem to have migrated into the region of Edom at the time of the Canaanite migration 1800-1700 B.C. The Egyptian evidence, if it applies to them at all, indicates that they were comparatively late comers. The Bible, however, places them in reverse order (Gen. xxxvi. 20-22) making Lotan the son of the Horite. After all has been said, the connection is very tenuous, and the "cave-dweller" explanation has, in the writer's judgment, the weight of probability in its favor.

Another problem on which students are always seeking light, and which some of the recent discoveries seem to touch, is the problem of the date of the Exodus of the Hebrews from Egypt and their conquest of Canaan. Although there are some gaps in the chronological data given in the Old Testament, scholars of two or three centuries ago deduced from them plausible evidence that the Exodus occurred in the fifteenth century B.C. and the occupation of Palestine by the Hebrews forty years later. This understanding of the matter became traditional. With the advance of Egyptology in the nineteenth century it was found that the statements of Exodus i. 11 pointed unmistakably to Ramses II. as the Pharaoh who oppressed the Hebrews and so his son Merneptah was accepted as the Pharaoh in whose reign the Exodus occurred. At first this caused no difficulty, but, when Egyptian chronology was put on a scientific foundation, and it was discovered that Merneptah's reign fell between the years 1225 and 1215 B.C., it became necessary to place the Exodus about 1220 B.C., and to shorten by half the period of time allowed for that portion of Israel's history comprised in the book of Judges. The majority of critical scholars adopted this view, though there were always some who maintained that the Exodus occurred under the XVIIIth Egyptian dynasty and not under the XIXth, to which Ramses II. and Merneptah belonged, and that its date accorded more nearly with the traditional chronology.

The discovery of the El-Amarna Letters and Merneptah's hymn of triumph over the people of Palestine, in which he mentions Israel as already in Palestine (discovered in 1896), created new difficulties. The El-Amarna Letters showed Habiri, who were apparently Hebrews, actually conquering the country between 1375 and 1357 B.C., and Merneptah's hymn actually mentions the Israelites as outside of Egypt in the fifth year of his reign or 1220 B.C. Notwithstanding all this, Exodus i. 11 clearly pointed to the reign of Ramses II.

(1292-1225) as the period of the oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt. The archaeological evidence was thus conflicting. Professor L. B. Paton, of Hartford Theological Seminary, further pointed out that the evidence of the Biblical documents is also conflicting.²⁹ One document represents Sinai as the centre of Hebrew life during the sojourn in the wilderness, another Kadesh. One group of documents represents the tribes descended from Leah as invading Judah from the south (Num. xxi. 1-3; Judg. i. 17), while the older strata of the book of Joshua represent the Rachel tribes as invading Palestine from the east. As to many other details the documents afford duplicate accounts. Professor Paton accordingly concluded that there were two Hebrew invasions of Palestine, one in the reign of Amenophis IV. when the Leah tribes, who had never been in Egypt, and who are called in the El-Amarna Letters Habiri, entered the country from the south; the other, when the Rachel tribes, who had been in Egypt, and who had escaped in the reign of Merneptah, entered the land from the east. This view seemed such a satisfactory solution of the matter that the present writer adopted it, when writing his book *The Religion of Israel*.³⁰ A number of scholars adopted a similar view.

In 1925 an English scholar, J. W. Jack,³¹ appeared as a champion of the view that there was but one Exodus and that that occurred under the XVIIIth dynasty. It is an able work. All evidence available to the writer was carefully reviewed, sifted, and evaluated. Jack maintains that the Habiri were Hebrews, that they had been in Egypt, that Thothmes III. of the XVIIIth dynasty was the Pharaoh of the oppression and his successor Amenophis II. the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and the date of the Exodus 1445 B.C. Some of the arguments on which Jack relies appear to the present writer to prove too much. From what has been said above, it is clear that the Hebrews of later history were but a small section of the Habiri. A large part of them were resident still in Mitanni and the Hurri-country, while, as the letters of Rib-Adda show, others were conquering the Phoenician coast from the Orontes to Beirut. It seems clear that we have here contemporary evidence of a migration from Mesopotamia of a people that swept over Syria as well as over Palestine, of which the Hebrews of history were but a small part. Just as the migration of Abraham seems to be a part of the Canaanite migration of 1800-1700 B.C., so the Habiri migration westward

²⁹ *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXXII. 1-53; *Biblical World*, XLVI. 82-88, 173-180.

³⁰ See *The Religion of Israel*, ch. III.

³¹ *The Date of the Exodus* (Edinburgh, 1925).

should be interpreted as the westward migration of the Leah and Rachel tribes, along with many others. In other words, in the judgment of the writer the El-Amarna Letters correspond better with the period represented in Biblical story by the return of Jacob from Padan-Aram than to the conquests of Joshua.

A document which it was hoped would throw some light on the subject is the stele of Ramses II. which Dr. Fisher dug up at Beisan, the Biblical Bethshean. On this stele, after mentioning the capture of Bethshean and the destruction of houses and the capture of booty, Ramses continues: "The elders were bound, to place the breath of his unspeakable name upon all lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, who is joined to Mont, to take them to his city—Re-user-setep-re, son of Re, Ramses-meri-amon he named it that the might of the name forever over all lands may glorify the son of Re, Ramses-meri-amon." At the end of the inscription are the figures of nine captive chiefs with ropes around their necks, each body bearing a cartouch on which was once written a name, but only four of them are now legible. As these names appear to have been the names of the nine countries by which the early Egyptians designated the foreign nations of the world they throw no light on the nationality of the people whom Ramses took captive to Egypt from Bethshean. His statement that he named the city Ramses for himself implies that he did so at this time, and coincides with the Biblical statement that he built the city of Raamses (Ex. i. 11), but, if he took people from Palestine to work upon it, as he says, his statement is not a confirmation of the Biblical representation that he forced Hebrews who were already resident in Egypt to do his building for him. Like other discoveries, this inscription of Ramses raises as many questions as it solves.

Such are some of the new vistas in the history of the Near East which the excavations and explorations of recent years have opened. New light has been shed on some old problems and new problems have been created.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

THE MEMOIRS AND THE LETTERS OF MADAME ROLAND

THE record of events, of what men have done, is relatively rich and informing. But a record of the state of mind that conditioned those events, a record that might enable us to analyze the complex of instincts and emotions that lie behind the avowed purpose and the formulated principle of action—such a record is largely wanting. What one requires for such investigations are the more personal writings—memoirs, and, above all, letters—in which individuals consciously or unconsciously reveal the hidden springs of conduct. In this kind of sources the Revolution, otherwise so rich, is singularly poor. Memoirs indeed there are, for the most part written years after the event, to tell us what the author wished the world of that day to regard him as having thought and felt in '93! But if the memoirs, which are plentiful, are unreliable, the letters, which might be reliable, scarcely exist. With one exception, no person prominent in the Revolution has revealed the working of his mind in copious correspondence. That one exception is Madame Roland.

I.

The first extant letter of the precocious young girl, Marie Jeanne Philpon, was written in 1767 at the age of thirteen, but she did not begin to write regularly until three years later. Her first correspondents were the sisters Cannet of Amiens, whom she met, and with one of whom, Sophie, she formed an intimate girlhood friendship, during a brief retreat in the house of the Congregation of Notre Dame. In 1776 she met Roland,¹ and after her marriage in 1780 the bulk of the letters are to her husband (he was much away from home until they moved to Paris), and to her friends Lanthenas, Bosc d'Antic, and Bancal des Issarts. The first published collection of Madame Roland's correspondence (the letters to Bancal) appeared in 1835.² Two small volumes of the letters to the sisters Cannet appeared in 1841.³ Additional letters were published by

¹ *Lettres de Madame Roland*, nouvelle série, I. 369; *Mémoires*, II. 237. Unless otherwise indicated, the citations to the letters and memoirs are to the editions of Perroud. See below, notes 6 and 10.

² *Lettres Autographes, adressées à Bancal des Issarts* (Paris, 1835).

³ *Lettres Inédites de Mlle. Philpon adressées aux Demoiselles Cannet, de 1772 à 1780*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1841).

The Memoirs and Letters of Madame Roland 785

Dauban in 1864 and 1867;⁴ and in 1896 Join-Lambert published a volume of the love-letters of Marie Phlipon and Roland.⁵ But the earlier collections have been largely superseded by the relatively complete and wholly admirable edition of the correspondence which Claude Perroud prepared for the *Collection de Documents Inédits*.⁶ These four volumes, together with Perroud's edition of the love-letters,⁷ contain practically all of the correspondence of Madame Roland—approximately one thousand letters, or an average of one letter each week (some of them very long indeed) for the twenty-three years from 1770 to 1793.

Madame Roland's famous *Mémoires*, written by stealth in prison, smuggled out *cahier* by *cahier* and deposited with friends, were first gathered and hastily published in 1795 by Bosc d'Antic.⁸ Many subsequent editions of this popular work appeared during the nineteenth century;⁹ but, as in the case of the letters, it was reserved to

⁴ *Étude sur Madame Roland et son Temps, suivie des Lettres de Madame Roland à Buzot et d'autres Documents Inédits* (Paris, 1864); *Lettres en partie Inédites de Madame Roland aux Demoiselles Canet suivies de Lettres de Madame Roland à Bosc, Servan, Lanthenas, Robespierre, etc.*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1867); *Lettres Choisies de Madame Roland* (Paris, 1867).

⁵ *Le Mariage de Madame Roland, Trois Années de Correspondance Amoureuse, 1777-1780* (Paris, 1896).

⁶ *Lettres de Madame Roland, 1780-1793*, ed. Claude Perroud, 2 vols. (Paris, 1900-1902). *Lettres de Madame Roland, nouvelle série, 1767-1780*, ed. Claude Perroud (Paris, 1913-1915).

⁷ *Roland et Marie Phlipon, Lettres d'Amour, 1777 à 1780* (Paris, 1909).

⁸ *Appel à l'Impartiale Postérité, par la Citoyenne Roland, Femme du Ministre de l'Intérieur, ou Recueil des Écrits qu'elle a rédigés pendant sa Détention aux Prisons de l'Abbaye et de Sainte-Pélagie, imprimé au Profit de sa Fille Unique, privée de la Fortune de ses Père et Mère, dont les Biens sont toujours Séquestrés* (Paris, 1795). This edition was translated under the title *An Appeal to Impartial Posterity*, etc., 2 vols. (London, 1796). For a critical study of the manuscript of the *Mémoires*, see Perroud's introduction to his own edition, I. liv-xc.

⁹ *Oeuvres de J. M. Phlipon Roland*, introd. by L. A. Champagnieux, 3 vols. (Paris, an VIII—1800—translated as *Works of J. M. Phlipon Roland*, 3 vols., London, 1803); *Mémoires de Madame Roland avec une Notice sur sa Vie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1820; this is the edition printed in Berville and Barrière, *Mémoires relatifs à la Révolution Française*, second ed. 1826, third ed. 1827); *Mémoires de Madame Roland*, preceded by a short biography [signed by M. Roger], 2 vols. (Paris, 1823); *Mémoires de Madame Roland*, ed. J. Ravenel, 2 vols. (Paris, 1840); *Mémoires Particuliers de Madame Roland*, ed. M. Fs. Barrière (Paris, 1855, in *Bibliothèque des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France pendant le Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. VIII.); *Mémoires de Madame Roland*, ed. C. A. Dauban (Paris, 1864); *Mémoires de Madame Roland écrits durant sa Captivité*, ed. M. P. Faugère, 2 vols. (Paris, 1864); *Mémoires de Madame Roland*, with a preface by Jules Claretie, 2 vols. (Paris, 1884, in *Bibliothèque des Dames*); *Madame Roland, sa Détention à l'Abbaye et à Sainte Pélagie, 1793, racontée par elle-même dans ses Mémoires* (Paris, 1886). For a critical estimate of these editions see Perroud's introduction to his own edition, I. xc-cxxvii.

Perroud to prepare the definitive edition.¹⁰ In one sense the memoirs are but a continuation of the letters, being themselves no more than a series of farewell epistles addressed to mankind—*appel à l'impartiale postérité*, as the author conceived them. They form thus a fitting close to a life chiefly devoted to self-revelation by means of correspondence. Besides the letters and the *Mémoires* Madame Roland wrote but little, and the outward events of her life, apart from the last brief months of furious adventure in revolution, were commonplace enough. Her career, her real career, was after all just this, to tell us copiously, day by day, what she did, what she thought and felt, above all what dreams she cherished in that imagined world of noble endeavor that she created as a compensation for the mean satisfactions which, to her thinking, were all that the real world commonly afforded. Neither the memoirs nor the letters are chiefly valuable as a record of outward events; but they are invaluable as a record of the working of a mind that was at once representative in quality and far above the average in power. It is rare indeed that the historian finds an intelligence so well documented as that of Madame Roland, rare that he comes upon so excellent an opportunity to study a mind in the making.

It can hardly be said that the most has been made of this rare opportunity, although critics and historians first and last have had a good deal, and a good deal that is admirable, to say about Madame Roland. The various editions of her memoirs and letters naturally called for more or less elaborate introductions by the editors, and furnished the occasion for some brilliant estimates by French critics. Sainte-Beuve contributed five essays, one of which served as an introduction to the volume of letters published in 1835.¹¹ The appearance of Dauban's edition of the memoirs in 1864 called forth a brilliant critique by Edmond Schérer,¹² and in 1896 René Doumic wrote a brief article in review of Join-Lambert's edition of the love-letters.¹³ To this edition Join-Lambert himself contributed an introduction which is perhaps the most penetrating analysis of the personality of Madame Roland that exists. The innumerable works on the Revolution have of course all something to say about her; and there are works on certain subjects, such as Goncourt's *La Femme au XVIII^e Siècle*, and Gaudet's *Les Girondins*, which contain brief accounts of her life. But no French writer has as yet prepared a

¹⁰ *Mémoires de Madame Roland*, ed. Claude Perroud, 2 vols. (Paris, 1905).

¹¹ *Portraits de Femmes*, pp. 165, 194; *Nouveaux Lundis*, VIII. 190.

¹² *Études sur la Littérature Contemporaine*, II.

¹³ *Études sur la Littérature Française*, II.

satisfactory biography of Madame Roland.¹⁴ The most notable biographies are in English, and all, except the negligible one by J. S. C. Abbott,¹⁵ are by women.¹⁶ Ida Tarbell's *Madame Roland*, and Mrs. Pope-Hennessy's *Madame Roland: a Study in Revolution* are perhaps the best of these.

These writers—editors, critics, and biographers—have had at their disposal the memoirs and at least some of the letters; but they have relied more upon the memoirs than upon the letters, and of the letters the earlier ones are those that have been most neglected. Yet the letters which Marie Philpon wrote to Sophie Cannel (two volumes were in print as early as 1841) are of the highest value in two respects: they reveal, at least indirectly and with sufficient fullness, the emotional and instinctive influences that conditioned the rational thought of the young girl in her formative years; and they enable us to place Madame Roland's contemporary account of her life side by side with her recollection of it as she sat in prison under the shadow of the guillotine. The critics and biographers of Madame Roland have commonly taken the early letters at their face value, content with such factual information, slight indeed, as they yield. They have compared the letters and the memoirs, they have even noted certain slight inconsistencies; but finding that the letters and the memoirs commonly agree in their report of names, dates, and events, they have not thought it worth while to inquire more curiously. This is well enough so far as the external events of Madame Roland's life are concerned; but in so far as Madame Roland is interesting for the way in which she thought rather than for what she thought, for the unconscious motives which determined her acts rather than for the acts themselves, a more careful comparison of the letters and the memoirs is the essential preliminary step.

¹⁴ In 1864 Dauban prepared a study of Madame Roland to serve as an introduction to his edition of the *Mémoires*; but, wishing to get his edition of the *Mémoires* on the market before Faugère's edition appeared, he printed the *Mémoires* before the introduction was ready. The introduction was published later the same year. *Étude sur Madame Roland et son Temps* (Paris, 1864). Of many brief lives of Madame Roland in French, the latest to appear is by Madeleine Clemenceau-Jacquemaire, *Madame Roland* (Paris, 1926).

¹⁵ *Madame Roland* (Makers of History Series, N. Y., 1878).

¹⁶ Mathilde Blind, *Madame Roland* (Boston, 1886); Ida Tarbell, *Madame Roland* (N. Y., 1896); Ida Taylor, *Madame Roland* (N. Y., 1911); Mrs. Pope-Hennessy, *Madame Roland, a Study in Revolution* (N. Y., 1918); Evangeline W. Blashfield, *Manon Philpon Roland: Early Years* (N. Y., 1922). Mrs. Blashfield had planned to write two volumes, but only one had been written at the time of her death.

II.

Madame Roland said she had a good memory,¹⁷ and it is true. Considering that the memoirs must have been written without the aid of memoranda of any sort, one might expect them to be filled with inaccurate statements of fact relating to her early life. Such is not the case. A few trivial errors have been noted by Perroud;¹⁸ and H. Glagau, making a minute comparison of the memoirs and the letters in respect to Madame Roland's relations with Gerdane, discovered no more than a certain number of divergences of negligible importance.¹⁹ But let it be said again (it will bear repeating) that neither the memoirs nor the letters are primarily concerned with events, since Madame Roland was not herself primarily interested in events. She was primarily interested in herself, in what she thought and felt, in justifying her thought and feeling to herself and to posterity. She wrote the letters and the memoirs not so much to convey information as to satisfy a craving for self-expression, to let the world know that she would revenge herself by deserving a happiness which had been unjustly denied to her—" *Je me vengerai, à mériter le bonheur, de l'injustice qui m'en tiendrait privée* ".²⁰ The memoirs and the letters are primarily concerned with Madame Roland's state of mind. It is accordingly in respect to their report of this state of mind that they need to be compared and collated.

The state of mind of the young Marie Jeanne Phlipon, dreaming of the great things she might do if she had not been born a woman, was naturally different from that of Madame Roland in prison, sitting by her window weeping.²¹ Yet it is not the sound of weeping that we hear in the memoirs. The note of self-pity is rarely present. There are indeed passages of splendid denunciation against the Jacobins, those scoundrels who had perverted the Revolution to base ends. But the prevailing note in the memoirs is one of sadness, of regret for what might have been. The memoirs are the expression of profound disillusionment, written by a woman condemned to watch the sacred Revolution fall away, as it seemed to her, into some incomprehensible *Walpurgisnacht* of bestial saturnalia.

Nowhere is this disillusionment more frankly confessed than in the following passage:

¹⁷ *Mémoires*, II. 12.

¹⁸ Cf. *Lettres*, nouvelle série, I. xxx, 434, note 1; *Mémoires*, II. 215, note 3, and 246.

¹⁹ *Die Moderne Selbstbiographie* (1903), pp. 87-97.

²⁰ *Mémoires*, II. 159.

²¹ The serving woman told H. Riouffe: "Devant vous elle rassemble toutes ses forces, mais dans la chambre elle reste quelquefois trois heures appuyée sur sa fenêtre à pleurer." *Mémoires sur les Prisons* (Paris, 1823), I. 56.

O Brutus! whose courageous hand vainly freed the corrupt Romans, we have erred as you did. These pure men whose ardent souls aspired to liberty, whom philosophy had prepared for it in the calm of the study and the austerity of seclusion—these men flattered themselves as you did that the overthrow of tyranny would forthwith bring in the reign of justice and peace; it was only the signal for releasing the most hateful passions and the most hideous vices. You said, after the proscription of the Triumvirs, that you were more ashamed of that which caused the death of Cicero than grieved by the death itself; you blamed your Roman friends for this, that they were made slaves more by their own fault than by that of the tyrants, and that they had the baseness to see and to suffer things the mere recital of which should have horrified them past endurance. It is thus that I grow indignant in the depths of my prison; but the hour for anger is past, for it is evident that it is useless longer to expect anything good or to be astonished at anything evil.²²

Madame Roland's disillusionment seems not to have followed immediately upon her arrest; and there is an apparent connection between the progress of her disillusionment and the writing of her memoirs. The memoirs fall into two parts. In one part (*Notices Historiques, Premier Ministère du Roland*, etc.) Madame Roland writes of the Revolution; in the other part (*Mémoires Particuliers*) she writes of her early life. The personal memoirs (*Mémoires Particuliers*), coming first chronologically, are in some editions printed first; but Perroud has shown that the historical notes and the account of Roland's ministry were for the most part written before the *Mémoires Particuliers*.²³ This seems to mean that during the first months Madame Roland still looked forward to the triumph of the Girondins, and accordingly occupied herself with the present; but that later, losing all hope, she sought relief from the bitterness of the present by recalling the happier days of her youth.

That this was her reason for writing the personal memoirs, Madame Roland leaves us in no doubt. "I propose to employ the leisure of my captivity", she says, "in tracing my private life from earliest youth to the present moment. Thus to follow again the course of one's career is like living a second time, and what better can one do in prison than to transport one's existence elsewhere by a happy fiction or by interesting memories?"²⁴ Here we may note once for all the motive, in its most inclusive form, that gives color and character to the personal memoirs. It was not from fear of death that Madame Roland sat by the window weeping, nor did she ever attempt to escape from prison. What made her weep was the overwhelming sense of futility, the realization that for her all the

²² *Mémoires*, II. 63.

²³ *Ibid.*, I. lxiv-xc.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 2.

fair visions of life were phantoms.²⁵ From this prison of spiritual disenchantment she did indeed endeavor to escape, and not without success, by writing her memoirs—by transporting her existence elsewhere, as she so happily expressed it, by renewing, as she says in another connection, “the tranquil moments of my sweet adolescence.”²⁶

No doubt the moments of her youth, thus recalled, seemed to Madame Roland sweeter and more tranquil than they really were.²⁷ This is nothing to marvel at, since distance lends enchantment to the view, particularly perhaps when the point of view is a prison cell. It is more important to note that in recalling her youth Madame Roland subtly reshaped her early opinions and sentiments. This she did, all unconsciously, because in writing the memoirs she sought, not only relief from the present, but support for the future. Now for Madame Roland sitting in prison the future, the future regarded as reality, was a very brief span ending in death. The fact that stared her in the face was that her brief revolutionary career would lead to the guillotine. Under the pressure of that fact it was necessary for the heroic woman to fortify her mind that she might make a good end. Madame Roland fortified her mind by idealizing that end, by regarding her death on the scaffold in the light of a supreme sacrifice on the altar of human liberty.

Since it would obviously be intolerable to think of this sacrifice as meaningless, Madame Roland endeavored to set it in the perspective of the centuries. She projected her expiation into history, where she could regard it as an event of more than personal or local significance, an event that coming generations might be disposed to record in humanity's great book of martyrdoms. Posterity, she was persuaded, would so regard it; posterity, that “other world of the philosopher” as Diderot said, would revenge her death by cherishing her memory. “Roland . . . ne mourra point dans la postérité; . . . et moi aussi j'aurai quelque existence dans la génération future.”²⁸ She conceived of the memoirs themselves as an appeal to impartial posterity; under that significant title they were first published; and Bosc, in the preface to that edition, tells us that the “citoyenne Roland endeavored to find in the esteem of posterity the

²⁵ To her old friend Sophie Grandchamp, who came to visit her in prison, Madame Roland said: “C'est pour mon pays que je répands ces larmes. . . . Maintenant ma destinée est fixée; je n'ai plus d'incertitude, dans peu je les [her friends] rejoindrai et me montrerai digne de les suivre.” *Mémoires*, II. 489.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 69.

²⁷ “Comment, du fond d'une prison, . . . rappeler et peindre aujourd'hui ce temps de calme et de ravissements?” *Ibid.*, II. 40.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II. 141.

means of consoling herself for the injustice of contemporaries, and in future glory a compensation for her anticipated death". Thus Madame Roland transported her existence elsewhere, into the future—not, as it turned out, altogether in vain.

Yet into the past also it was necessary to transport her existence. Posterity would not be inclined to celebrate an accident; nor could Madame Roland herself see an adequate meaning in her expiation without regarding it as in some sense the work of a higher power—God, or the associated fates, or whatever beneficent moving forces might be supposed to concern themselves with human destiny. Then was not she also, like the martyrs of the past, an instrument of the universal purpose which in some inexplicable way had shaped her life to its predestined end? It was consoling to think so. "From the age of nine", she says, "I was aware of a destiny which I must prepare myself to fulfill."²⁹ She even put this feeling in the form of an invocation, which from about the age of twenty, so at least she seemed to remember, was her only prayer: "O toi! qui m'as placée sur la terre, fais que j'y remplisse ma destination de la manière la plus conforme à ta volonté sainte et la plus convenable au bien de mes frères!"³⁰ At the time she did not indeed know what this destiny was to be; but when, as she sat in prison, it was revealed to her, her whole life unrolled before her, in recollection, as a kind of miraculous preparation for it. "Dans le siècle corrompu où je devais vivre et la Révolution que j'étais loin de prévoir, j'apportai de longue main tout ce qui devait me rendre capable de grands sacrifices et m'exposer à de grands malheurs. La mort ne sera plus pour moi que le terme des uns et des autres."³¹

Thus Madame Roland, raising her expiation to the level of a cosmic event, became in her own eyes an instrument in the hands of God, a woman born to die for the liberation of mankind. Under the influence of this idea she wrote her memoirs. Inevitably, in recalling her past life, it seemed to her that she had always been a disciple of the faith for which she was about to suffer martyrdom; and all of the essential differences between the memoirs and the letters, with few exceptions,³² spring from this consoling illusion. In the memoirs we are led to suppose that from an early age Madame Roland was preoccupied with politics, that she had always been es-

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II. 24.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 118.

³¹ *Ibid.*, II. 185-186.

³² The most notable exception has to do with Madame Roland's feeling for Roland. In the letters she at least pretends to be in love with him. In the memoirs she says she never was. For an exhaustive study of the question, see Perroud, *Roland et Marie Philpon*.

entially, what she was in 1793, a pure republican soul, hating kings, despising *ces pitoyables anoblis*,³³ instinctively preparing herself, perhaps even without knowing it, for her destiny, that Revolution which she could not foresee. The letters reveal to us, on the contrary, a woman who accepted the existing régime as a matter of course; a woman whose dissatisfaction with the world was the conventional one of desiring for herself a better place in it; a woman whose interest in politics, prior to 1789, was purely perfunctory, except indeed on the one occasion when she endured humiliations from the servants of the servants of royalty in order to obtain for her husband a title of nobility.

The parallel passages in the memoirs and the letters which reveal this contrast may be readily brought together and compared.

III.

The impression that from an early age Madame Roland was politically minded is conveyed in the memoirs quite as much by subtle suggestion as by positive assertion. It not infrequently happens that an event or an incident, remembered correctly enough in itself, is recalled and related in a particular connection, a connection that gives to the event or incident a political significance which the letters do not lead us to suppose it had at the time.

An instance in point is the brief mention of Delolme. In a letter to Sophie Cannet, December 24, 1776, we read: "J'ai fait un petit extrait de l'ouvrage intéressant d'un Genevois sur la constitution d'Angleterre, monument curieux pour des yeux observateurs. Je pourrais t'en parler dans cette lettre; mais il faut à ce moment que je suive le goût libertin qui me porte à écrire sans suite," etc.³⁴ In the memoirs the mention of Delolme plays a part in a quite different preoccupation. There she says that the dissoluteness of the court of Louis XV. led her to ask whether such things could continue without a revolution. In contrast with the French she found the English less frivolous; and therefore: "je m'attachais à ces voisins; l'ouvrage de *Delolme* m'avait familiarisée avec leur constitution; je cherchais à connaître leurs écrivains, et j'étudiais leur littérature."³⁵ The contrast is illuminating, not for any difference in the statements of fact, but for the different implications. The young girl, Marie Phlipon, reading everything, came upon Delolme; and, making extracts of everything, she made a brief extract of Delolme. But in the memoirs

³³ *Mémoires*, II. 129-130.

³⁴ *Lettres*, 1767-1780, I. 538. In a later letter she gave a summary of the work. *Ibid.*, II. 5-13.

³⁵ *Mémoires*, II. 131.

the reading of Delolme takes its appropriate place in a political pre-occupation, and becomes, by implication, an act inspired by her interest in politics and the British constitution, instead of an act inspired by her interest in books and the making of extracts from them.

Another case in point has to do with the impression, which the memoirs convey, that Madame Roland was a republican long before the Revolution. The impression is indeed conveyed chiefly by numerous if unobtrusive phrases which imply more than they say. I do not find in the memoirs any passages in which Madame Roland says explicitly that she was a republican before 1789; what I do find are the following passages which contrive to convey the impression that she was. "It was from this time [the reading of Plutarch at the age of nine] that I received those impressions and ideas which were to make me a republican without my dreaming of becoming one." (*Mémoires*, II. 22.) "I was enthusiastic for those republics where I encountered the greatest virtues to arouse my admiration, and men worthy of my esteem." (*Ibid.*, p. 10.) "Everything united to inspire me with republican enthusiasm." (*Ibid.*, p. 130.) "Plutarch had inclined me to become a republican." (*Ibid.*, p. 185.) This same characteristic is well illustrated in the account of her visit to Madame de Boismorel, a passage often quoted to show Madame Roland's hatred of social distinctions. Witnessing the condescension with which Madame de Boismorel treated her own *bonne maman* Rotisset on this occasion, she did not then ask herself why Madame de Boismorel should be superior, but "I had the sentiment which led to this reflection".³⁶

Instances such as these might be multiplied. Let us turn to the more important passages—those parallel passages in the memoirs and the letters which upon comparison yield a flagrant contradiction (at least superficially) in the sentiments and ideas expressed. There are not more than four or five, and they may all be given.

Take those first that relate to the exile and recall of the Parlements. In the memoirs we read: "From the beginning of the conflict between the Court and the Parlements my character and opinions led me to take the side of the latter; I procured all their remonstrances, and those pleased me most which expressed in the most vigorous form the most extreme opinions."³⁷ From the point of view of 1793, that was no doubt what the young Manon should have done in 1771. But in fact the young Manon, in all her copious correspondence, mentions the exile of the Parlements only once,

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 75-76.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 105.

quite casually, at the end of a long letter to Sophie, September 15, 1771: "I have no news for you, at least unless you are still ignorant of the suppression of the Parlement of Toulouse—and its recreation, composed of some of the old members."³⁸ Through two hundred pages we read on without finding further mention of the Parlements until their recall in 1774. Even then it was apparently only in response to Sophie's request for information that Manon deigned to give some account of the event. Her own comment on the affair is illuminating—the more so since it shows her to be in fact a disinterested defender of the king.

A Prince ascending the throne under such critical circumstances could not well avoid this necessary and desired establishment. Besides, what has he to fear from it? The Parlements are like old ruins which we still venerate, but they are no longer a barrier to royal authority; it is a cherished but impotent idol which must be restored to its adorers, since its presence consoles them.

This comment on the Parlements is really penetrating, far too just to have been made by a strong partizan who had read all the remonstrances and was most pleased by those which expressed the most extreme views. To be sure Manon rejoices—"As for me, I rejoice much." But the reasons for her joy are curiously unpolitical. "I rejoice much. Every universal sentiment affects me; and that which is a pleasure for the public seems to me should be a joy for the individual who finds his felicity in that of others and his happiness in that of his country."³⁹ Evidently Manon was not much interested in the Parlements; she was interested in expressing opinions about them which seemed to her appropriate to a person of enlightened mind and lofty sentiment.

Much the same contrast appears in the passages which touch upon the state of French society at the close of the reign of Louis XV. In the memoirs we read:

The education which I had received, . . . the ideas acquired by study or social intercourse, all united to inspire me with republican enthusiasm, by making me see the absurdity or feel the injustice of innumerable pre-eminences and distinctions. Likewise, in my reading I sided passionately with the reformers of inequality; I was Agis and Cleomenes at Sparta, I was Gracchus at Rome. . . . When I witnessed those spectacles which the capital so often presented upon the entrance of the queen or the princes, . . . I sadly compared this Asiatic luxury, this insolent pomp, with the misery and servility of a brutalized people.⁴⁰

In the letters, apropos of distinctions, we read: "As for me, I think that, in a monarchy, it is essential to have authority and intermediate

³⁸ *Lettres*, 1767-1780, I. 53.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 237.

⁴⁰ *Mémoires*, II. 130.

ranks, as well as a corporation to guard the laws."⁴¹ Manon had perhaps not thought much about the matter, but she had read Montesquieu. As to the quality of her republican enthusiasm, one may judge by the following passage:

The news of his [the king's] illness impressed me. . . . Although the obscurity of my birth, of my name, of my estate, seems to excuse me from interesting myself in the ruler, I feel, in spite of myself, that the general good touches me. My country is something to me. . . . How could it be indifferent to me? Nothing is so. I feel that my soul is a bit cosmopolitan; humanity and sentiment unite me to all that breathes; a Caribbean interests me, the fate of a Kafir touches me. Alexander sighed for new worlds to conquer; I would sigh for others to love, if I did not know of an Infinite Being capable of absorbing all my sentiments.⁴²

What can one say about this, except that it is a young girl's exercise in the expression of sentiments à la philosophe?

One other passage bears on the matter in hand. Late in September, 1774, Manon was taken by her mother and Mlle. d'Hanaches to Versailles, where they remained eight days to divert themselves, according to custom, with the spectacle of the court. In the memoirs, after describing the malodorous quarters in which they were lodged, Madame Roland recalls her impressions of this visit as follows:

I was not at all insensible to the effect of a great show, but it made me indignant to think that it had for its object to exalt a few individuals in no way remarkable in themselves and already too powerful. I liked better to look at the statues in the gardens than at the people in the chateau, and when my mother asked if I were content with our journey—"Yes", I replied, "provided it soon ends; a few more days and I shall detest the people I see to the point of not being able to contain my annoyance."—"But what harm do they do you?"—"At every moment they make me feel injustice and contemplate absurdity." I sighed to think of Athens, where I could have equally enjoyed the fine arts without being wounded with the spectacle of despotism; in imagination I walked in Greece, I assisted at the Olympic games, and I grieved to find myself a Frenchwoman. Impressed with everything which the great age of the republics had presented to me, I overlooked the troubles that disturbed them; I forgot the death of Socrates, the exile of Aristides, the condemnation of Phocion. I did not know that Heaven had destined me to be a witness of crimes similar to those of which they were the victims, and to participate in the glory of a persecution of the same kind, after having professed their principles.⁴³

Such was the effect, as it seemed to the Girondin republican of 1793, which the spectacle of Versailles had upon her mind at the age of twenty. The actual effect, if we are to judge by a contemporary letter, was different:

⁴¹ *Lettres*, 1767-1780, I. 242.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I. 195.

⁴³ *Mémoires*, II. 104-105.

I greatly enjoyed my stay at Versailles; it was a journey undertaken out of curiosity and for pleasure, and I, for my part, fully realized those objects. With a little imagination and taste, it is impossible not to be moved by the masterpieces of art. . . . And when one is affected by the general welfare, one necessarily interests oneself in the persons who have so much influence upon it. If I could have written to you from that place, I should have adopted spontaneously the pleasant style which amuses you; the circumstances gave me the proper mood for it. . . . I can not tell you how what I saw makes me value my position and bless Heaven for having given me obscure rank. You perhaps think this sentiment founded upon the slight value I attribute to popularity and the disadvantages that accompany high station? Not at all; it is founded only on my character, which would be a nuisance to me and to the state if I were placed close to the throne, because I should be shocked by that extreme inequality which puts a barrier between one individual and millions of people of the same species. In my position I love my Prince because I do not much feel my dependence; if I were too close to him I should hate his grandeur. This disposition is not praiseworthy in a monarchy; when it appears in a person of rank and influence it is dangerous. With me it is of no importance, because the education of one in my station teaches me what I owe to the powerful, and makes me respect and cherish from a sense of duty and from reflection what I would not love naturally. . . . A beneficent king seems to me a being almost adorable, but if before being born I had been given my choice of a government, my character would have made me decide in favor of a republic; it is true I should have wished it constituted like none that now exists in Europe. I am very hard to please? It would then be necessary to change also the moment of my birth? The one would cost no more than the other. I think I see you laugh and count on your fingers the number of follies which this one makes when added to the others. But apropos of laughing, etc.⁴⁴

One does not gather from this passage that the spectacle of despotism disturbed Manon much. Nothing could be more conventional than the remark about "my Prince", or more in keeping with the spirit of the age than the expression of an academic preference for a republic.

But it is impossible, by the quotation of two or three extracts, to convey an adequate sense of Marie Phlipon's indifference to *res publica*. To comprehend this fully one must read in extenso these long and intimate letters. Veritable dissertations on life they are: literary exercises for the most part modelled on Rousseau or Madame de Sévigné; filled with the titles of books and with extracts from them; discussing with unflagging zest everything to be met with in literature, all the universal problems—man and nature, free will and determinism, the existence of the Supreme Being, the immortality of the soul, the wonders of the starry heavens above and of the human soul within us, the meaning of history, the uses of posterity, and the perfectibility of the human race. These interminable letters

⁴⁴ *Lettres*, 1767-1780, I. 227-228.

that touch upon everything in heaven and earth, *except* the deplorable state of French society; one must read them in order to realize that nothing was more remote from the interests of Marie Jeanne Philpon than contemporary politics, that nothing disturbed her less than the absolutism of the reigning king or the inequity of existing social distinctions.

It would be odd perhaps were it not so, at the age of twenty. But Madame Roland retained this conventional point of view until the eve of the Revolution. After her marriage her indifference to politics could not indeed be quite complete, since her husband, as inspector of manufactures, was a government official; but, for that very reason doubtless, she was even less republican than before. From 1780 to 1789, if we may judge from the letters, Madame Roland was indeed the conventional good wife: less concerned than formerly with the universal problems posed in literature, more concerned with food and clothes and baby's milk; most of all concerned with her husband's success in his chosen career, very ambitious indeed for his advancement in a worldly way, quite prepared to believe that the king could do much to justify the existing régime by recognizing the undoubted merits of his inspectors of manufactures. In 1784 Roland had served faithfully for many years in this capacity. He had published monographs. His family in times past had borne titles of nobility which subsequently lapsed. Nothing seemed more obvious to his good wife than that he had earned retirement, a pension, and the restoration of his family to its former rank among the privileged.

Accordingly, in March of 1784, equipped with documentary evidence and with signed and sealed recommendations from the nobles of Beaujolais, Madame Roland went to Paris to solicit from Calonne, "le charmant roué", a title of nobility for her husband.⁴⁵ There she remained until May; and the letters give us a vivid and humorous picture of the persistent and resourceful lady running about from office to office, waiting in antechambers, employing her graces upon lackeys and *femmes de chambre*, suffering herself to be bullied by minor officials, holding herself in while they sourly criticized her husband. And all for nothing so far as the title was concerned! But it presently appeared that a lucrative promotion might be obtained if—if Roland could be induced to accommodate his inflexible spirit to the humors of those intriguers, *Messieurs les Intendants*. "Above everything", Madame Roland implored her husband, "do

⁴⁵ For a good account of this episode, see Blashfield, *Manon Philpon Roland*, pp. 223 ff. Madame Roland's letters to Roland during her stay in Paris are in *Lettres*, 1780-1793, I. 286 ff.

not get angry in your letters, or else let me see them before you send them. You must not offend these people any more. Your pride is sufficiently well known, now show them your good nature. . . . My dear, these people are not so bad. They were ruffled, and the dryness of your style has done all the harm in making them think that you have a terrible disposition and intolerable pretensions. I assure you they can be managed."⁴⁶

The character of Madame Roland's interest in politics in 1784 may be judged from this episode. She was as yet far from the pure republican soul that penned the famous letter to Louis XVI. in 1792.⁴⁷ In 1793, inevitably, the enemies of Roland charged him with the crime of having aspired to a title of nobility;⁴⁸ and Madame Roland, writing her memoirs in prison, felt that it was necessary to defend him. Her defense must have sounded feeble in her own ears, although for us it is adequate enough: "I do not know any one who, at that time and in his situation, would have thought it imprudent to act as he did."⁴⁹ This is indeed the exact truth. In 1784 it did not occur to Roland, still less to Madame Roland, that there was anything in their situation or in their political opinions which made it incongruous for them to solicit a title of nobility from a despotic government. And in fact there was nothing.

The transformation of Madame Roland the conventional *philosophe* into Madame Roland the militant *politique* was, apparently, accomplished within the brief period of a few months. One can not pronounce too confidently on this point because she wrote relatively few letters during the crucial years 1788-1789, or at least relatively few letters have been preserved.⁵⁰ Such as we have indicate that she was only mildly excited by the pamphlet controversy between Calonne and Necker, or by the struggle between Brienne and the Parlements. She sided with the Parlements and regarded their recall as desirable; and, like most friends of liberty, she was disappointed when the Parlements demanded the calling of the States General, organized according to the forms of 1614.⁵¹ And yet between November, 1788, and June, 1789, Madame Roland wrote nine letters

⁴⁶ *Lettres*, 1780-1793, I. 353.

⁴⁷ Letter of June 10 signed by Roland, but written, at least in part, by Madame Roland, *Mémoires*, I. 241; for the letter itself, see *Moniteur*, June 15, 1792; a translation is in Tarbell, *Madame Roland*, p. 190.

⁴⁸ "Roland, dans l'ancien régime, a sollicité des lettres de noblesse (Murmures. Ah! ah! voilà le mystère découvert!)." Session at the Jacobin Club, Jan. 11, 1793. Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, IV. 671.

⁴⁹ *Mémoires*, II. 261-262.

⁵⁰ See Perroud's comments on this point. *Lettres*, 1780-1793, II. I. 39.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II. 30, cf. pp. 13, 17, 25, 29, 32, 33.

to Bosc at Paris, in none of which, so far as they have been preserved, is there any mention of the exciting events of the time—the calling of the Estates, the elections, the opening of the Estates, the quarrel of the orders over the verification of credentials.

Was it then during the famous days of July 12–17 that Madame Roland the revolutionist first appears? It is impossible to say for sure, since there are no letters at all between June 9 and July 26. But at all events in the letter of July 26, the first letter after the taking of the Bastille, we recognize clearly, and for the first time, the Madame Roland of the Revolution, the Girondin republican whom we know so well.

No, you are not free; no one is yet. Public confidence is betrayed; letters are intercepted. You complain of my silence, I write you by every post. It is true that I no longer write of our personal affairs: where is the traitor who to-day has other affairs than those of the nation? It is true that I have written you more vigorously than you have acted; if you are not careful you will have made nothing but a vain gesture. . . . You are only children; your enthusiasm is only a flash in the pan; and if the National Assembly does not bring to trial two illustrious personages . . . you are all done for. If this letter does not reach you, let the poltroons who read it blush to recall that it was written by a woman, and tremble to think that she can make a hundred enthusiasts, who in turn will make millions more.⁵²

This is indeed a new manner—the temper and the language of '93.

Madame Roland was now thirty-five years old. Up to this time she had been the typical *philosophe*, loving her prince and knowing what was due to those in high station, the conventional good wife, ambitious for her husband's advancement in his chosen career. What was it that so quickly, within a few months at the most, transformed her into the passionate *politique*, the uncompromising revolutionist?

IV.

This question could not be adequately answered without sketching the mental history of Madame Roland as it is revealed, or perhaps one should say concealed, in her correspondence. Such an enterprise would carry us too far afield, and is in any case not essential to the present enquiry, which is concerned with the letters and the memoirs as historical sources. On that theme something remains to be said—something which, although it is not intended to supply an explanation of Madame Roland's sudden political conversion, may perhaps suggest the point of departure which would lead to one.

Hitherto, in comparing the memoirs and the letters, I have been concerned to point out certain differences between them. The dif-

⁵² *Ibid.*, II. 53.

ferences are not unimportant; but the points in which the memoirs and the letters differ are more superficial and less important than the points in which they are alike. The memoirs and the letters differ in this, that they give us inconsistent reports of what Madame Roland thought at a given time about a given matter; but the characteristic mental process which enables us to understand how she came to give these inconsistent reports is the same in both cases. It is in this characteristic mental process, which so largely determined the ideas and the activities of Madame Roland, rather than in the ideas and the activities themselves, that the essential integrity of her personality is to be found.

Madame Roland possessed, in a quite unusual degree, an instinct which all men have in some measure—the disposition to withdraw from a real world which offers no adequate opportunity for action into an imagined world molded closer to the heart's desire. It was thus, as we have seen, that she effected an escape from prison—by “transporting existence elsewhere through a happy fiction or interesting memories”. But it was not in prison alone that Madame Roland was engaged in transporting her existence elsewhere by a happy fiction. On the contrary, she was so constantly engaged in doing this throughout her life that it may be said to have been her chief occupation. She was a dramatist who created one great character, designed to play a noble part on a great stage. The character was Madame Roland, the stage was the world as it should have been. It is in the memoirs and the letters alike that we meet this character and follow this play.

The young Marie Phlipon, who at nine years of age carried Plutarch to church in place of a prayer-book and before she was eighteen had read and assimilated the best ancient and modern writers, must inevitably have possessed, from an early age, a lively sense of her own superiority to the lower-middle-class station in which she was born. The stuffy apartment of an engraver doing a small business near the Pont Neuf was obviously no adequate theatre for displaying the talents of a young woman who communed familiarly with the saints and sages of the world, and who never read of “a single act of courage or virtue” without feeling herself capable of imitating it under similar circumstances.⁵³ Had she been Regulus, she too would have returned to Carthage; had she been Socrates, she would have drunk the hemlock. Neither opportunity was likely to come to her on the Pont Neuf. “More than once”, she said (and she said it more than once), “I wept in vexation at not

⁵³ *Lettres*, 1780-1793, I, 159.

being born a Spartan or a Roman."⁸⁴ What she really wanted no doubt was not especially to be a Spartan or a Roman, but to be somebody, anybody. What she wanted was an adequate opportunity for the real exercise of her irrepressible energies, the real employment of her extraordinary intelligence, the real expression of her profoundly egoistic and ambitious nature. Since the real world did not offer this opportunity, she constructed an imaginary world in which she could play her part, and that not a sad or ignoble one.

In an illuminating letter, written at the age of twenty-one, the young girl revealed her secret in a pregnant sentence. "*Placed in a situation in which I can think more than I can act, I persuade myself that I ought to busy myself in perfecting my being, not being able to do much for others.*"⁸⁵ To perfect her being was indeed Madame Roland's occupation. But where could this perfected being move and speak and act the part? Where could she converse with those who would understand her, where do heroic deeds or make sacrifices that would not go unregarded or unacclaimed? Not, apparently, in the real world of Paris. But in the world of history and romance, in the world of Plutarch and Jean Jacques, in the overworld of the imagination—there was a world where others might see her as she saw herself. "I confess", she wrote to Roland, "that in reading a romance or a play I have never been much attracted by the minor parts. . . . In studying history I am far from having for fine traits and great actions that pure and cold admiration which I perceive most people have. The description of good acts performed by my fellows touched me, penetrated me with tenderness and pleasure; it made me feel better in my own eyes, because it awakened in me a confidence that I could do as much, and regret at not being in the same situation as those who have thus acted."⁸⁶ Madame Roland could never take the second place. But in the real world there was no other place for her to take, a circumstance which constrained her to be ever engaged in idealizing the brute fact, reshaping the outward world in decent conformity to an imagined world in which she need never be condemned to assume a minor rôle.

It is in exhibiting this characteristic mental process that the memoirs and the letters are alike, and alike valuable. If one asks, therefore, which is the true Madame Roland, the Madame Roland of the letters or the Madame Roland of the memoirs, the answer is both and neither, in the sense that the letters no less than

⁸⁴ *Lettres*, 1767-1780, I. lii. Cf. Perroud, *Roland et Marie Phlipon*, p. 84; *Lettres*, 1780-1793, II. 107.

⁸⁵ *Lettres*, 1767-1780, I. 274.

⁸⁶ *Lettres*, 1780-1793, I. 159-160.

the memoirs give us the portrait of Madame Roland as she wished to appear, an idealized portrait; both, in the sense that by virtue of always thinking of herself as that idealized person, by resolutely and persistently living up to it, she ends by becoming in no small measure that person.

The point may be conveniently illustrated by taking an incident already noted—the visit to Versailles. In the memoirs Madame Roland tells us that on that occasion she was wounded by the spectacle of despotism, shocked by the corruption of the court, indignant at the thought of the inequity of social distinctions. In the letters she tells us that she was amused by the spectacle, which led her to reflect that she loved her prince, knew what was owing to those in high place, and that whereas if the choice had been offered her she would have chosen to live in a republic, she nevertheless regarded a beneficent king as almost adorable. Which are the real sentiments and ideas of the real Marie Jeanne, those recorded in the letters or those recorded in the memoirs?

Those recorded in the letters undoubtedly, one is disposed on first thought to answer. But when I consider more curiously (I hope it will not be thought too curiously), I confess that such an answer seems inadequate, not indeed because the statements in the letters are unsupported “by the testimony of two independent witnesses not self-deceived”, but because it is extremely difficult to disengage the real Marie Jeanne, if there was such a person, from the ideal Marie Jeanne, of whose existence there can be no reasonable doubt. It is of course possible, even probable, that the real Marie Jeanne was, as she says in the letters, thoroughly amused by the spectacle at Versailles. Yet is it not possible that the real Marie Jeanne was, as she says in the memoirs, profoundly shocked by the spectacle at Versailles—shocked, that is, until she reflected that when she wrote to her friend Sophie about her visit the ideal Marie Jeanne would certainly wish to write about it in the light and witty and sophisticated tone of Madame de Sévigné?⁵⁷ The result of this reflection may well have been that the real Marie Jeanne forthwith ceased to be shocked and became amused; or it may be only that, as a result of this reflection, the real Marie Jeanne was forthwith transformed into the ideal Marie Jeanne. I can not say. Nor can I say whether all of those ingenious reflections about republics and princes,

⁵⁷ “Tout le monde ne peut pas écrire comme Mme. de Sévigné, non seulement faute d'un esprit comme le sien [exceptional persons might have that under any circumstances, even the most unpropitious!], mais parce que tout le monde n'est pas, comme elle était, au sein de la Cour et des brillantes compagnies.” To Henriette Cannel, Sept. 4, 1776. *Lettres*, 1767-1780, I. 472.

which we find set down in the letters and attributed to the real Marie Jeanne, were directly inspired in the real Marie Jeanne by the spectacle at Versailles, or whether they were inspired by the *idea* that these were the kind of reflections that such a spectacle should properly give rise to in the mind of the ideal Marie Jeanne—that is to say, in the mind of a young woman whose soul was “a bit cosmopolitan”, a woman of taste and sentiment who had read the best authors and who would naturally be inclined, by virtue of having emancipated herself from provincial prejudices, to look down upon the human scene with the detached and amused curiosity of a true *philosophe*.

In any case what of all this is nature and what art? Is it possible to separate the spectacle of Versailles from the idea of it in the mind of the observer? Above all where does the real Marie Jeanne end and the ideal Marie Jeanne begin? Difficult to say. If Madame Roland had been able on occasion to stand off and take an objective survey of what was going on at the moment in her own mind it would have helped much. This she never, or very rarely, did. She was too intent on “perfecting her own being”, too much concerned, when confronted with men and things, to note the effect which they should properly have on the character she was engaged in creating, ever to tell us quite, if indeed she ever knew, how the men and things really struck her, or might have struck her if she had been content to be herself. Between Madame Roland and the outward world there was commonly interposed a carefully created character, an ideal self which intercepted and transformed first impressions, and which again intercepted, and as it were relayed, the resulting impulse to action. Neither the ideas nor the conduct of Madame Roland (as, for example, her sudden espousal of the Revolution in 1789) can be well understood without taking careful account of this created character, this very real if somewhat intangible ideal self. It may indeed very well be that this created ideal character became, as time passed, more and more, and at last altogether, the real Madame Roland. We shall be apt to think so on November 8, 1793, as we follow her slow-moving tumbril to the Place de la Révolution and note the courage with which she mounts the scaffold, the high disdain with which she looks down upon the wolfish mob below, or lifts unflinching eyes to the poised and relentless knife.

CARL BECKER.

THE SLAVE TRADE INTO SOUTH CAROLINA BEFORE THE REVOLUTION¹

THAT slavery would be the accepted labor system of South Carolina was unquestioned from its earliest settlement. To planters coming from Barbados, Jamaica, Antigua, and St. Kitts, slavery was the accustomed order, the bringing of slaves into the province the natural and desirable practice. As early as 1670 mention is made of a negro here; in 1671 Sir John Yeamans had carried negroes from Barbados to cultivate his Ashley River plantation; in 1674 Mr. Percival was instructed to "begin a trade with the Spaniards for Negroes",² a curious fact since the newly organized Royal African Company of 1672 might, one would suppose, have desired to supply all the slaves then necessary. From this time for sixty years our information as to slaves and the slave trade in Carolina is meagre and may be briefly summarized and dismissed.³ The passage, during the last years of the seventeenth century, of several acts regulating the conduct of negroes and the relations between negroes and whites, indicates an increase, probably a considerable increase, in the number of slaves in the province.⁴

That the colonists were already regarding this growing population of blacks with some disquietude may be gathered from the act of 1698, for the "Encouragement of the Importation of White Servants".⁵ The first quarter of the eighteenth century saw the

¹ A part of the paper which follows was read at the meeting of the American Historical Association held in Washington in 1920.

² *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, V. 215, 248, 442; Hewatt's *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia* (1779), I. 60; Edward McCrady, *South Carolina under Proprietary Government*, p. 151.

³ For this period we have little beyond legislation, official reports, and a few fragmentary entries in the books of the Royal African Company, all of which, though informing enough in their way, leave us much in the dark as to the traffic as a business. After 1731 we have, in the Charleston Library Society, the almost unbroken file of the *South Carolina Gazette*, and from 1748 on, we possess the letter-books of Henry Laurens, an incomparable source of information concerning the general economic life of Carolina, as well as the trade in negroes. Unless otherwise stated, those letters of Laurens to which reference is here made are in the possession of the South Carolina Historical Society.

⁴ Cooper, *Statutes of South Carolina*, II. 22, 52, 78, 118, 121; McCord, *Statutes*, VII. 342.

⁵ "Whereas, the great number of negroes which of late have been imported into this Collony may endanger the safety thereof if speedy care be not taken and encouragement given for the importation of white servants." Cooper, *Statutes*, II. 153.

enactment of numerous laws laying import duties on the incoming slaves, the reason offered being sometimes "the great importation of negroes", which threatened the safety of the province, and sometimes the need for a revenue, easily provided by a duty on slave importations.⁶ Spasmodic protests against the colonial imposts came from British merchants,⁷ but the force which actually rendered unavailing any effort toward restriction of importation was the steadily growing prosperity of the colony itself. Rice was proving a profitable crop and, with its spread to inland swamps,⁸ slaving captains were to find in Carolina an eager and a lucrative market. Despite occasional outbursts of anxiety over the menace of a barbarous population greatly outnumbering the planters themselves, the lure of profit which slave labor held out prevented the success of any consistent policy of limitation, and an importation of twenty-four in 1706 had by 1720 become 601.⁹

Throughout the 'twenties we are still in a period of scant information, though we have more details concerning the trade than for earlier years. During 1724 five vessels, the *America*, the *Greyhound*, the *Ruby*, the *Cape Coast*, and the *Pearle*, brought in 734 negroes, of whom one merchant, Joseph Wragg, handled at least 142.¹⁰ Two years later his brother Samuel, recently appointed agent for the colony, testified before the Board of Trade that he "had been a Trader to Carolina Seventeen or Eighteen years. That that Country formerly had but very few Negroes, but that now they employd near 40,000. That they now usually import 1,000 per Ann: whereas they formerly imported none, and sometimes 2 or 300". At the same time Mr. Platt, also of Carolina, reported that the colony imported about 1000 negroes per annum, at prices ranging from £30 to £35 sterling.¹¹

⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 201, 280, 651; III. 65, 159; McCord, *Statutes*, VII. 367, 370.

⁷ References to various petitions against the Carolina duties may be found in the British Public Record Office, C. O. 5: 292, pp. 113-115; C. O. 5: 290, pp. 132-135, 151; C. O. 5: 361 C79; British Transcripts, XIV. 75-76, at Columbia, S. C. (Unless otherwise stated, the British Transcripts to which reference is made are those in the possession of the South Carolina Historical Commission, at Columbia.)

⁸ F. V. Emerson, *Geographical Influences in American Slavery*, pp. 18-20.

⁹ McCrady, *South Carolina under Proprietary Government*, p. 723, citing the *Report of the Committee of the Commons House of Assembly of the Province of South Carolina, on the State of the Paper Currency of the said Province* (London, 1737). The numbers reported by Sir Nathaniel Johnson to the Council of Trade and Plantations in 1709 suggest an importation much larger than this. He states that during the preceding five years 300 negro men, 200 women, and 600 children had been imported, and that there were at that time in the colony 1800 negro men, 1100 women, and 1200 children. *Cal. St. Pap., Col.*, 1708-1709, p. 466, no. 739.

¹⁰ British Transcripts, XI. 243.

¹¹ C. O. 391: 35, p. 170, May 4, 1726. In 1729 George Burrington reported to the Lords of Trade that the colony had "above 20,000 tythable negroes". British Transcripts, XIII. 37.

Even though Wragg were greatly exaggerating both the yearly importation and the number of slaves in Carolina, it is evident that by this decade the trade had become of sufficient importance to merit the fostering care of the home government and the constant solicitude of British and Carolina merchants, foremost among whom were the Wraggs, Joseph and Samuel. Samuel was one of the few traders of the province, perhaps the only one, who attempted to deal with the Royal African Company.¹² Though his contract with that company has not come to light, scattered entries in its books give some clue to its character and indicate negotiations extending over a period of at least five years. An item of March 13, 1722, in one of the minute-books of the Committee of Trade of the company, states that Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Wragg "were called and Discours'd with touching their Proposal for being furnished by the Company with Slaves at South Carolina". By May 31, an agreement had been reached whereby the company was to supply Wragg with three hundred slaves a year, to be delivered in South Carolina. It was agreed that "a ship be appointed for Gambia to Slave there for South Carolina according to the Contract made by Mr. Wragg", and that it be recommended to the Committee on Goods to compute the quantity of Kendall Cotton needed to clothe the slaves to be sent and to place it on shipboard. Plunkett, the company's agent at Gambia, was directed to purchase not more than three hundred slaves and to have them ready for shipment to Carolina by February, 1724. On February 17, 1725, a letter from Mr. Wragg was read, asking for further shipments on his contract, upon which the Committee on Goods reported that they had "no goods in Warehouse proper for a Gambia Cargo".¹³ No evidence has been forthcoming to show that the con-

¹² This company reported in 1704 and 1705 that it sent no vessels to South Carolina. Royal African Company to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, *Cal. St. Pap., Col.*, 1704-1705, p. 295, no. 621; British Transcripts, 278 (Library of Congress), p. 56. Slight attention was paid to Carolina in the reports made by the Lords Commissioners in 1709 and 1712. The report of 1709, compiled in part from replies of colonial governors to a circular letter of Apr. 15, 1708 (*Journ. of the Board of Trade*, 1704-1709, p. 480), stated that Virginia, Carolina, Maryland, and New York together had received but 200 negroes from the company since its establishment. C. O. 390: 12, pp. 172-182.

¹³ Treasury Papers 70: 123 (Public Record Office, cited as T 70), Mar. 13, May 9, 24, 31, June 29, July 26, Aug. 16, Oct. 24, 1722; T 70: 91, pp. 160, 173, Oct. 25, Dec. 12, 1722; T 70: 124, Nov. 6, 1723, Feb. 17, 1725; T 70: 103, pp. 27, 32-33, Feb. 10, Apr. 25, Sept. 21, 1727. Wragg reported to the Board of Trade in 1726 that the company had supplied no negroes to Carolina save those sent under his contract, and that they had sent him 300 instead of 900. C. O. 391: 35, p. 170. He was apparently at the same time obtaining slaves for Carolina from private merchants in Bristol. See "Instructions to Capt. Wm. Barry, from Hobhouse and Company", Jefferies MSS., Bristol Public Library.

Slave Trade into South Carolina before the Revolution 807

tract was ever fulfilled in its entirety, either in its first or in subsequent years, or that the company made any further serious attempt to establish trade relations with Carolina merchants.

For the years from 1730 to the outbreak of the Revolution it is possible to build up a much more complete picture of the trade, with reasonable confidence in its accuracy. From reports and advertisements in the *Gazette*, and occasional statements in the letter-books of Henry Laurens, a rough estimate of the amount of importation during these years can be made, though in some cases the figures are so contradictory that a plausible reconciliation seems impossible, and in others there are obvious mistakes, but no means of correcting them. Wherever the total is obtained from the cargoes advertised the result is an understatement, excluding many arrivals on small vessels which are not advertised in the *Gazette*, or for which the numbers are not specified.

1730	1833 ¹⁴	1745 ²²		1760	3740 ³²
1731	[3000] ¹⁵	1746	Prohibitive duty	1761	2000 ³³
1732	[3000]	1747		1762	640
1733	2745 ¹⁶	1748		1763	1110
1734	10447 ¹⁸	1749	72 ²³	1764	2500
1735 ¹⁷		1750	442 ²⁴	1765	7184 ³⁴
1736		1751	831	1766	Prohibitive duty
1737		1752	1560 ²⁵	1767	
1738	[2600] ¹⁹	1753	1665 ²⁶	1768	
1739 ²⁰		1754	3648 ²⁷	1769	4612 ³⁵
1740		1755	1305 ²⁸	1770	Non-im- portation
1741	Prohibitive duty ²¹	1756	2239 ²⁹	1771	2748
1742		1757	1207 ³⁰	1772	4865 ³⁶
1743		1758	2477	1773	11641 ³⁷
1744		1759	1957 ³¹	1774	1944 ³⁸

¹⁴ W. A. Schaper, *Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina*, p. 315 (Am. Hist. Assn., *Annual Report*, 1900, I.).

¹⁵ The bracketted figures are based upon very loose general statements.

¹⁶ *South Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 2, 1734. The *Gazette's* report does not cover the precise calendar year, but extends from Christmas, 1732, to Christmas, 1733. Of the number here given, 1156 were imported between Christmas and midsummer, *Gazette*, June 30, 1733. Von Reck's estimate that there were 3000 negroes a year imported is probably too large, though Wragg, not long after this, reported to the Board of Trade that 3000 was the annual importation of Carolina. In the *Gazette* of Apr. 2, 1737, a correspondent, giving the importation for 1734-1737, estimated that of 1730-1733 as 5153, which makes the above figures too large. "Extracts of Mr. Von Reck's Journal from Dover to Ebenezer", Force, *Tracts*, vol. IV., no. 5, p. 8; British Transcripts, XVII. 265; McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, p. 183.

Usually the vessel carrying the blacks came assigned to a merchant who was expecting it and who, if his relations with its owner were at all permanent, kept him informed of the state of the crops.

¹⁷ The *Gazette* of Nov. 8, 1735, gives the importation from Nov. 1, 1734, to Nov. 1, 1735, as 2907; the same number is given in British Transcripts, XIX. 56; Samuel Eveleigh, writing to Godfrey Malbone, of Rhode Island, Sept. 12, 1735, stated that between Mar. 25 and Sept. 12, 1735, 2400 negroes had been imported, Newport Historical Society, package 157. It can scarcely be said, after examining these records, that there was a definite season for the arrival and sale of these cargoes, since they frequently appeared as early as January, and laggard captains often arrived in late November or early December. Laurens, however, regarded the market as over by November, and thought January too cold for "brisk buying". Winter voyages, more difficult in every way, added to the usual expenses an additional item for clothing, and were for that reason, as well as others, to be avoided. "If they come later than October they should have a warm Jacket and Breeches." June 27, 1755, Laurens to Thomas Mears.

¹⁸ McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, p. 184.

¹⁹ In the *Gazette* for Mar. 9, 1738, a contributor speaks of the annual importation as from 2600 to 2800.

²⁰ For this year six cargoes were advertised in the *Gazette*, one of which consisted of 300 negroes. The size of the others is not specified. For 1740, four cargoes are advertised.

²¹ For brief summaries of the duty acts, see DuBois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, pp. 9-10; D. D. Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens*, pp. 80-83, and note; McCrady, *Royal Government*, index.

²² For 1744 four cargoes are advertised; for 1745 no importation figures have been discovered. Wallace believes that the act attributed to April, 1746, may belong to 1745. If this is true it would, in part at least, account for the absence of figures. Wallace, p. 83, note 3.

²³ Arrivals began in the summer of 1749. Glen, in his "Description of South Carolina", says that the war continued to prevent importation after the duty was lifted. *Carroll's Collections*, II. 224, cited by Wallace, p. 72. The figures for 1749-1759 are taken from the *Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1759.

²⁴ "Carolina. Some Years ago used to take about 1000 but now they take very few, occasion'd by a high Duty laid, which in effect answered the End of a prohibition but suppose the demand revives 1000." "Computation of Negroes required for the use of the American Plantations", C. O. 388: 45, B. T. Commercial, ser. I., b. 7, 1750.

²⁵ The *Gazette*, Dec. 25, 1752, reported 1865 arrivals since Nov. 1, 1751. Between Nov. 1, 1751, and Feb. 1, 1752, 327 were reported.

²⁶ *Gazette*, Oct. 15, 1753. This number included 305 imported between Nov. 12, 1752, and Jan. 15, 1753. No importations are noted in the *Gazette* between Oct. 15 and the end of the year.

²⁷ On Nov. 7, 1754, the *Gazette* reported 2330 importations since Nov. 1, 1753; the issue of Jan. 1 gave 17 as the importation since Nov. 1, leaving 2313 as the 1754 importation. The *Gazette* of Dec. 5 and 12 reports no additions to this number. On Aug. 26, 1754, Glen wrote to the Board of Trade that, "Since the 1st of November upwards of 2000 Negroes imported", and added that more ships were expected. British Transcripts, XXVI. 111.

²⁸ The *Gazette*, Oct. 16, reported 1275 arrivals since Nov. 1, 1754. Of these, 93 came in between Nov. 1, 1754, and Jan. 9, 1755.

the probable demand for slaves, the prevailing prices, and the relative advantages of the Charleston and the West India markets. Occasionally the captain had general instructions only, as to his terms of sale, and, guided by the advice of a trusted Charlestonian, might exercise his discretion in choosing the house which was to dispose of the cargo. The merchants who received and sold the cargoes were those doing a general importing business in Charleston, rather than dealers who specialized in the buying and selling of blacks. Occasionally, perhaps frequently, they were part owners of the vessels

²⁹ On July 29 the paper reported 1568 incoming negroes for the year. 532 of whom had come between Nov. 1, 1755, and Feb. 26, 1756. The advertisements for this year give a total of 1070, with nine unspecified cargoes.

³⁰ Governor Lyttelton, in a report to the Board of Trade on Aug. 7, 1758, gives the importation from June 1, 1756, to June 1, 1757, as 1661; that from June 1, 1757, to June 1, 1758, as 1910, making a total for the two years of 3571. British Transcripts, XXVIII. 67.

³¹ The *Gazette*, Nov. 3, 1759, gives 1555 as incoming between Nov. 1, 1758, and Nov. 1, 1759.

³² *Gazette*, May 31, 1773; the importation from Nov. 1, 1750, to Nov. 1, 1760, was 3573. The *Roebuck*, bringing 420, arrived in November. *Gazette*, Nov. 1, 1760.

³³ The figures for 1761-1764 are estimates, undoubtedly much below the actual figures, based on the advertisements in the *Gazette*.

³⁴ *Gazette*, May 31, 1773; the *Gazette* for July 6, 1769, reported for this year 6701; between Nov. 1, 1764, and June 29, 1765, the importations were 5082, *Gazette*, June 29, 1765. In December, Bull wrote to the Board of Trade that "above 8000" had been imported that year, "being nearly equal to three years importation", British Transcripts, XXX. 298. The *Gazette* advertisements amounted to 6243, with 6 unspecified cargoes. The total for the years 1756-1766 was given by the *Gazette*, July 6, 1769, as 23,743; the total for the figures given above is 25,054.

³⁵ *Gazette*, May 31, 1773; from Jan. 1 to July 1, 1769, 4233 are reported, *ibid.*, July 6, 1769. Bull wrote on Dec. 6 that 5435 had been imported since the beginning of the year. British Transcripts, XXXII. 129.

³⁶ *Gazette*, May 31, 1773; between Oct. 30, 1771, and Aug. 20, 1772, 3076 negroes were brought in. *Ibid.*, Aug. 20, 1772.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, May 31, 1773; on June 28 the *Gazette* reported, "Upwards of Three Thousand Eight Hundred Negroes have been imported here since the Beginning of May"; on July 26, the report was 6471 since Nov. 1, 1772; on Aug. 2 the paper speaks of the *Jason* as the thirty-fourth Guineaman to arrive that season. Gomer Williams gives the number arriving at Charleston in 1773 as 4500. *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 529. The total for the years 1753-1773 is given as 43,965; the figures here given amount to 55,538 for that period.

³⁸ The *Gazette* records the arrival of fourteen vessels. The last one advertised is the *St. Marie*, with 36 negroes, sold by Messrs. Powell, Hopton, and Company. In November a ship consigned to Messrs. Andrew and George Lord of Charleston was driven by a storm into Georgia, and the slaves sent for from there. This is the last record of importation found in the *Gazette* before the outbreak of hostilities. *S. C. Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1774.

whose cargoes they sold.³⁹ Henry Laurens, we know, sometimes held shares in the vessels that delivered slaves to him. Of the *Emperor*, with a capacity of nearly six hundred negroes, he wrote: "a Ship we are largely concernd in";⁴⁰ at one time he suggested to Messrs. Smith and Clifton of St. Christopher that they take one half of a cargo, he to take the other half.⁴¹

When one finds a vessel returning year after year to the same Charleston house, as did the *Amoretta* every year from 1733 to 1740, one is tempted to assume that the Charleston house must be part owner.⁴² The assumption needs confirmation however before it can be accepted as certain. The repeated voyages may indicate only a high degree of satisfaction on the part of the British principal with the way his Charleston agent was conducting the sales. On the whole, the evidence of the Laurens letters and the *Gazette* seems to indicate that Charleston's share in importation was relatively small and that her great profit came from commissions collected by those of her merchants who acted as factors for the British in this as in other trade.

Of Charleston merchants there were few, if any, whose names did not sooner or later appear affixed to notices of negro sales. Before the Revolution at least one hundred firms had offered cargoes for sale, some advertising but one, others one a year for a number of years, while Brailsford and Chapman, in the year 1765, handled

³⁹ While it is unquestionably true that the great majority of slave cargoes coming into Charleston were owned by the British, scattered bits of evidence prevent one from accepting the assertion that the Carolinians had no part in the traffic save that of purchasers. The agents of the Royal African Company, writing to the company in 1700, speak of some of the ten-per-cent. ships in the Gambia River as from Carolina; Edward Randolph, in his summary of the misdemeanors of John Archdale, refers to his seizure of a Carolina sloop loaded with negroes. Though the special pleading of petitions to Parliament ought not to be given undue weight, statements made by them can not be wholly ignored, and on this point the Carolina petitions of 1711 and 1712 are unequivocal: "since the opening of the African Trade, in the Year 1698, great Numbers of Negroes have been imported by private Merchants as well as by the Inhabitants and Planters residing there." Charles Davenant, *Works*, V. 175; *Cal. St. Pap., Col.*, 1701, p. 90, no. 180; Mar. 15, 1711, *Journal of Commons*, XVI. 550; Mar. 27, 1712, *ibid.*, XVII. 157.

⁴⁰ May 26, 1755, Laurens to Smith and Clifton.

⁴¹ July 17, 1755, Laurens to Smith and Clifton. Laurens once considered sending a vessel directly to the West Coast of Africa for slaves to be placed on his own recently acquired lands in western Carolina. Mar. 3, 1764, Laurens to Richard Oswald.

⁴² *South Carolina Gazette*, June 23, 1733, July 13, 1734, July 12, 1735, June 26, 1736, May 28, 1737, June 9, 1739, Aug. 30, 1740. "To be Sold on Wednesday the 27th Instant, a choice Cargo of Negroes, imported in the Ship *Amoretta*, David Jones, Commander, directly from Africa. By Benjamin Savage." *Ibid.*, June 23, 1733. The *Amoretta* also delivered a cargo to John and Benjamin Savage in October, 1750. *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1750.

nine cargoes, two of which numbered four hundred slaves each.⁴³ Two or three cargoes a year seem to have been considered a satisfactory amount of business. Laurens in 1755 wrote of seven hundred slaves as the number his "small Business" would receive annually by choice.⁴⁴ The modesty of the phrase "small business", however, scarcely represented the situation accurately, as from 1752 to 1756, according to the *Gazette*, the partnership of Austin and Laurens was advertising more cargoes than any other firm in Charleston.

The negro merchants were men of substance and standing in the community. Samuel Wragg, already mentioned, was a member of the Carolina House of Commons and of the Council. His brother Joseph, who advertised slave cargoes in Charleston from 1733 to 1743, was also a member of the Council. Samuel's son William was likewise a member of the Council. References to the connections of this family with the trade in blacks can be found throughout a large part of the century.⁴⁵ The Wraggs were not exceptional. Pelatiah Webster, visiting Charleston in 1765, mentions with pleasure meeting a half-dozen merchants, all of them dealers in slaves. "Dined this day with Mr. Thomas Shirley, a very polite English Gent. residing here in very genteel fashion: is an ingenuous ready man: was bread a merchant, has travel'd much, understands several modern languages: pass'd the afternoon agreeably with him."⁴⁶ A few days later Webster wrote: "Dined this day with Mr. Thomas Liston, a reputable mercht born here, is a man of great openness and politeness, of generous sentiments and very genteel behaviour."⁴⁷ Probably the

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1765, *passim*.

⁴⁴ May 27, 1755. Laurens to Wells, Wharton, and Doran.

⁴⁵ *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XI. 86-89; McCrady, *Proprietary Government*, index. It may be remembered that Samuel had the misfortune to be seized by pirates on a voyage from Carolina to London, Hughson, *Carolina Pirates and Colonial Commerce*, pp. 70-71. One of his vessels, the *Mary*, which delivered negro cargoes in Charleston in 1737, 1738, and 1739, was destroyed in the Gambia River in 1743. *Gazette*, Oct. 24, 1743.

⁴⁶ T. P. Harrison, "Journal of Pelatiah Webster's Voyage to Charleston, 1765", *Publications of the Southern History Association*, II. 131. Other slave merchants mentioned with commendation are: Thomas, Benjamin, and Thomas Loughton Smith, John Poaug, John Torrains, and John Head. Nothing can be more certain than that not the slightest social stigma rested upon these men because of their trade. Webster, however, had by no means the same high opinion of the Guinea captains, whom he described as "a rough set of people, but sometimes somewhat carressed by the merchants on acco. of the gt. profits of their commissions". *Ibid.*, pp. 138-140, 144. Hewatt describes the merchants of Carolina as a "respectable body of men, industrious and indefatigable in business, free, open and generous in their manner of conducting it". Hewatt (ed. 1779), II. 300.

⁴⁷ *Publications So. Hist. Assoc.*, II. 140, 143. Liston, of the firm of Middleton, Liston, and Hope, took Webster a few days later to observe the negroes held in quarantine on Sullivan Island.

most famous of all Charleston slave dealers was Henry Laurens. Energetic, able, upright, helpful to younger men, ready with advice to English merchants, interested not only in his own profits but in the economic well-being of the colony, he was for long a leading figure in Charleston business before he became known as a leading patriot.⁴⁸

The terms on which these merchants transacted their duties as factors varied slightly from time to time and from house to house, but the general pattern remained much the same. The *Gazette* in 1738 thus described the usual custom:

Until about the Year 1733, the common Method of selling Negroes in this Province was, to be paid in Rice, whereby the Sellers knew [how] to make above 10 per Cent per Annum Profits, by a Forbearance of Payment under the Title of commuting their Bonds. . . . The Factors here were in general under no other Contract with their Employers at Home, than to remit the Rice when they had receiv'd it from the Planter. But now the Case is alter'd, the Sales and Contracts being now upon a new and quite different Footing. . . .

The Negroes that are now sold in this Province are sent upon those Terms viz. The Factors here to make good all bad Debts, to remit 2 thirds of the Value in 12 Months, the other one third in 2 Years after the Day of Sale. Now as they give Security in Great Britain to perform their Contracts, and as their further Business depends upon the doing thereof, it is no surprise to find them now more exact in requiring their Payments when it becomes due than they did 6 Years ago. . . .⁴⁹

Ten years later, Laurens, then in England, in proffering the services of the new partnership, Austin and Laurens, to a number of English merchants, thus described his terms: "to Load the Ship which imports the Slaves with such produce as can be had at the Season, pay Coast Commission there, make good all debts and remitt the Amount according to the times of Payment if freight to be obtained and as much in Bill as we may procure with Cash arising from the Sales, our Commission 10 per Ct.", with English security offered to any reasonable amount.⁵⁰ Since, in one of his letters, Laurens expressed unwillingness to vary from the terms of others engaged in the same business,⁵¹ one may infer that these were the usual provisions. They continued to be the terms of contract adhered to by Laurens, who frequently referred to them as models for young men entering the business,⁵² and as greatly to be preferred to the methods

⁴⁸ For an account of Laurens's unquestioning pursuit of the slave trade in his early life and his gradual change of sentiment and withdrawal from it, see Wallace, *Life of Henry Laurens*, pp. 88-91.

⁴⁹ *South Carolina Gazette*, Mar. 9, 1738.

⁵⁰ Jan. 20, 1749, Laurens to Foster Cunliffe.

⁵¹ July 24, 1755, Laurens to John Knight.

⁵² Feb. 28, 1772, Laurens to John Lewis Gervais.

customary in the West Indies, as well as to those in vogue in Carolina in the 'sixties.

It was the constant practice of our House, Austin and Laurens, to Note upon each Accot. of Sale the terms of payment under different heads as such payments became due—and at each period to remit the full Sum then due, from that method we acted simply as Factors; transacting the business of our constituents for a certain known Commission of 5 per Ct. upon Sales and returns which Netted upon both about $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 per Ct. Some of our Neighbours in those days endeavour'd to persuade us to fall into a New way which had been proposed and I believe in some measure forced upon them of remitting the Net Proceed of each Cargo in Bills in the Bottom payable in certain proportions and at distant periods, as 3-6-9 to 3-6-12 and 15 Months, but we would not deviate from our plan altho we have known 14 to 17 per Ct. made the other way.⁵³

This new method, he believed, added an unnecessary element of risk to a business having already many precarious features. It also at times helped to push down the Charleston price to a level highly disadvantageous to the English owner:

Your late project in demanding Remittances in the bottoms of your Guinea Men at stated periods will account for the unexpected low averages at our Market. Our Merchants here are by no means to blame, those on your side have forced such terms upon them and may ascribe the consequences to their own policy.⁵⁴

Information as to terms of credit offered to the planters may also be gathered from the *Gazette* and from statements made by Laurens: "Credit to the first of January next, without Interest, giving Security, if required. N.B. Five per cent Discount will be allowed on all Sums paid down"; "Great encouragement will be given to such as pay ready Money or the present Crops"; "The Treasurers Certificates issued before the Year 1752, will be taken in Payment"; "Twelve Months Credit (without Interest) will be given"; "Proper allowance will be made for Cash and good Bills of Exchange which will be taken at Par".⁵⁵ These and many similar statements in the notices of sales are often suggestive of the prosperity and resources of the house conducting the sale, the plentifulness of the supply of negroes to be disposed of, or the condition of the province at the time.

Cash sales were probably unusual but they were by no means unknown. Laurens wrote in 1755: "We hope he [Capt. Dodson, *Gambia*] wont insist that they shall be sold for Cash as in that case

⁵³ Sept. 2, 1768, Laurens to Ross and Mill.

⁵⁴ June 2, 1769, Laurens to Henry Bright and Company.

⁵⁵ *South Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 30, Nov. 13, 27, 1752, June 4, 1772. Items emphasizing the consideration given to "ready pay" are very common in the 'thirties. See the *Gazette* for those years.

we fear you will suffer very greatly 'tis an unusual thing in this Country and what cannot at present be attempted with success." He was, however, not always as apprehensive of the failure of cash sales as this expression might imply, for at another time he wrote: "if they are a very fine parcel Purchasers often appear that will produce the ready money in order to command a preference." In one of the last letters dealing with the trade which Laurens wrote, he advised his correspondent to pay no attention to "the measure lately adopted in Charles Town, for the Sale of Negroes . . . three Months Credit, to Purchasers with Interest from the Date, in most Cases", but instead, to "deal with each Man who shall require Credit", separately, making the price proportionate to the length of the credit.⁵⁶

That this policy had proved itself in Laurens's own case there can be little doubt. He frequently pointed to the promptitude with which the planters' obligations to the house of Austin and Laurens were met. The books of the firm were usually balanced the first of each January, or, in the case of sales late in the autumn, the first of March. This sometimes occasioned heavy advances but there is little evidence in the letters that such advances were not in due time paid by the planters. In fact, in all the correspondence there is singularly little discussion of bad debts.⁵⁷ It is doubtless true that the business of this house was better managed than that of many Charleston merchants, yet, even bearing that in mind, one can not but conclude, on the basis of the evidence contributed by the letter-books, that the volume of debt carried by the merchants for long periods was surprisingly small. Glen, writing in 1754, substantiates this: "they [the negroes] are now all purchased for ready money or with bonds bearing Interest, which are really as good as ready money, for I know of few or no Planters whose Credit is suspected."⁵⁸

⁵⁶ May 26, 1755, Laurens to Smith and Clifton; Nov. 22, 1755, to Satterthwaite, Inman, and Company; Feb. 28, 1772, to John Lewis Gervais.

⁵⁷ In 1763 Laurens wrote of the new settlers upon the outlying land of the province as those from whom the highest prices were obtained, adding that up to that time there had been no bad debts among them. Feb. 15, 1763, Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company.

⁵⁸ Glen to the Board of Trade, British Transcripts, XXVI. 111. The writer is not oblivious to contemporary opinions that the entire colony was in debt far beyond its ability to pay and that the purpose of many of the currency laws was to protect the debtor. It is probably true that the negro debt was excessive in the 'thirties and was again attaining alarming proportions in the 'seventies. The volume of the planters' debts and their relation to the currency laws need a more thoroughgoing examination than has yet been given them. See British Transcripts, XII. 204, XIII. 316, XVI. 27; *Statutes*, III. 105-108; *South Carolina Gazette*, Apr. 2, 1737, Mar. 9, 1738.

Another indication of the flourishing condition of the colony in the middle years of the century is the abundance of bills of exchange. "We have for 4 or 5 Years past had so great a Plenty of Bills that we have been at very little loss at any time to Gratify our Friends with a Remittance therein", wrote Laurens in May, 1755,⁵⁹ and again: "We have been enabled for some Years past to remit for our Negro Sales totally in Bills almost, but this must cease in case of a War and the Sellers be obligd to ship produce or wait a great while for Bills."⁶⁰ This proved true. A decrease in the supply of exchange was one of the earliest effects of the war, and the lack of bills probably hampered payments somewhat throughout the entire war. In 1762 Laurens wrote that recent cargoes had sold at high prices but that difficulties would "attend the Remittances and perhaps an advanc'd Exchange as Bills are very scarce".⁶¹

Definite conclusions as to the amount of capital necessary for embarking upon this trade can hardly be reached. Laurens frequently suggested to young men consulting him that a considerable reserve was required for safety, but his advice did not take form in specific figures. When writing of his own business as having handled seven hundred negroes a year, he added, "we are often in advance more than £10,000 Sterling". At another time he wrote, "I am now in advance for every farthing of the proceeds of those Negroes which I sold you some time ago for £12000".⁶² To young aspirants for a foothold in the enticing traffic he sometimes suggested that they attach themselves to an older house for a sale or two, thus accumulating both experience and capital before they ventured for themselves. Gabriel Manigault was occasionally mentioned as a possible source of funds.

Mr. Manigault is a Gentleman can at all times advance Sums of Money without any inconvenience to himself, but it cannot be done by those who are professedly African Factors. We experimentally know that a large Capital is requisite to negotiate a Trade in this Country for 7 or 800 Negroes a Year in the way we take them but a more material consideration with the Factor is this, the probability of War affecting the Exchange. Last year and for many preceeding Exchange was 700 per Ct.

⁵⁹ May 27, 1755, Laurens to Wells, Wharton, and Doran.

⁶⁰ Apr. 13, 1756, Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company.

⁶¹ Dec. 16, 1762, Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company.

⁶² May 27, 1755, Laurens to Wells, Wharton, and Doran; Feb. 6, 1765, Laurens to Francis Stuart (Laurens Letter-Book, Pa. Hist. Soc.). These probably refer to the capital needed to carry on the business of a commission merchant. Slight suggestions as to the resources needed if the merchant were to be part owner may be gathered from occasional references to losses on vessels. The cargo and "out-set" of the *Emperor*, which made a disastrous voyage in 1755, cost over £7000. May 26; 1755, Laurens to Smith and Clifton.

in last January it jumpd to £712. 10/. suppose it had come to 800 which was not impossible from such an Event, what had he gaind who had sold a Cargo of Slaves and remitted at 7 when perhaps 2/3 of his money was not due before Exchange was 8. . . .⁶³

One of the marked characteristics of the Carolina trade throughout a large part of the century was the despatch with which large cargoes were marketed. Not until about 1760 does the repetition of advertisements occur with sufficient frequency to suggest chronic slow sales. The merchant, on receiving news of the arrival of a cargo, at once advertised in the *Gazette* the date of the sale, and probably sent broadsides to the country planters at the same time. The need for a wide acquaintance and generous advertising was well understood.⁶⁴ To a promising sale planters came from one hundred miles, the length of the journey helping to quicken the bidding, since would-be purchasers from remote plantations were reluctant to return empty-handed, and could not easily linger on in the city waiting for later vessels. Laurens refers to one sale to which came forty or fifty planters, from a distance of seventy miles.⁶⁵ By the middle of the century single planters came prepared to purchase twenty, thirty, and forty negroes. It was thought to be more difficult to dispose of a small cargo than of one of three or four hundred blacks, since the announcement of the arrival of large lots brought down buyers from all over the province, who, in their eagerness to outbid each other, overlooked defects that in a small parcel could scarcely have escaped notice.⁶⁶

That these purchasers had decided preferences as to the source of their labor supply is patent from the fact that the advertisements usually mentioned and frequently emphasized the place of origin of the cargo. The favorite negroes were those from Gambia and the Gold Coast. Between 1732 and 1765, at least fifty-three Gambia and twenty-nine Gold Coast cargoes were sold in Charleston. To describe arrivals as "Gambia Men and Women" or "Gold Coast negroes", was a guaranty of high quality. Others were occasionally

⁶³ June 12, 1756, Laurens to Samuel and William Vernon, Newport, R. I.

⁶⁴ "To be Sold on Thursday next, being the 5th of October, by George Austin, for ready Money, a Choice Parcel of Negroes, lately imported in the Ship *Edward*, to be seen on board the said Ship at Elliotts Wharf." *South Carolina Gazette*, Sept. 30, 1732. "Just Imported in the *Snow Fortune*, Edward Boucier Master, about 180 Slaves, From the Windward and Gold-Coast directly, all in good Health; To be sold on Wednesday the 3d of July next by Austin and Laurens." *Ibid.*, June 20, 1754. Feb. 28, 1772, Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, "be early and extensive as possible in Advertizing the whole Country of your intended Sale".

⁶⁵ July 31, 1755, Laurens to Thomas Easton and Company; July 2 and Aug. 30, 1755, to Henry Weave and Company; also letters of Aug. 30, 1755.

⁶⁶ Jan. 12, 1756, Laurens to Law, Satterthwaite, and Jones.

advertised as "equally esteemed". One explicit description reads: "Chiefly of the same Country as those which are brought from the River Gambia; just arrived in the *Snow Betsey*, Robt. Deas, Master, from the Factory at Sierra-Leon on the Windward Coast of Guiney, where the said Cargo was picked out of a large Parcel." Another speaks of the negroes of the Masse-Congo country, "esteemed equal to the Gold Coast and Gambia slaves"; one cargo is announced as from "Cape Mount on the Grain Coast, usually called Guiney Negroes and greatly esteemed equal to any from Gambia or the Gold Coast".⁶⁷

Blacks brought from places unknown to the Charleston market called for explanation. Messrs. Middleton and Brailsford, in 1759, advertised a cargo as from "Whidah, a Country greatly preferred to any other, thro'out the West Indies, and inferior to none on the Coast of Africa". Whidah negroes remained rare in Charleston and as late as 1772 it was necessary to say: "Whidah is esteemed to be the finest country in Africa, and the slaves from thence usually sell in all the West India Islands for Five Pounds Sterling pr. Hd. more than Negroes of any other country." Throughout the eighteenth century the education of the Carolinians in West Coast geography went on apace. "Healthy young Fantees" are offered; Coromantines, negroes from Bassa on the Windward Coast, from Bance Island, from Angola, and from the Bight. These last, the Calabar slaves, were the least desired of all, and captains were frequently urged not to bring them to this market. The difference in price between a Calabar and a Gambia negro was from £3 to £4.⁶⁸

The Carolina planter was not only keenly alive to the merits of various tribes and prone to exercise a choice in his purchases but was also exceedingly critical of the quality of the cargo, and that captain whose judgment never failed ranked high in the business.

⁶⁷ May 27, 1755, Laurens to Wells, Wharton, and Doran; July 17, 1755, to Smith and Clifton; *South Carolina Gazette*, June 30, 1759, July 19, 1760, Aug. 13, 1763. It is a puzzling fact that the marked differences between the negro tribes, regarded as so important on their arrival, seem to have been speedily lost sight of. Advertisements of seasoned negroes, in so far as the writer has examined them, seldom emphasize the tribe or African locality from which the negro came; notices of runaway negroes occasionally mention place of origin but frequently do not. The evidence seems also to indicate that country-born negroes had lost all distinguishing characteristics or that the planter had grown oblivious to them with his longer association with the negroes.

⁶⁸ *South Carolina Gazette*, July 21, 1759, July 30, 1772; Wallace, Laurens, p. 76; June 27, 1755, Laurens to Thomas Mears; Nov. 20, 1756, to Capt. Valentine Powell; Jan. 27, 1757, to Francis Guicharde; May 8, 1756, to Capt. Samuel Linne-car.

"Let your purchase be of the very best kind of Slaves black and smooth free from blemishes, Young and well-grown—the more Men the better but not old, none sell better than Gambia Slaves—if you touch any below this description let a very great bargain only tempt you." "A tall able People tempt many of our Folks to buy when they are in no real want of them", Laurens wrote to one of his correspondents. He occasionally suggested that the Carolina market was a more fastidious one than those of the West Indies and that dubious cargoes had better be disposed of elsewhere. "They were much too small a people for the business of this Country", was his judgment concerning one cargo. Men were in greater demand than women. The age ought not to be over twenty-five for the men, twenty for the women, and complaints of excessive age are common. Of one unsatisfactory cargo he wrote: "add to this the worst infirmity of all others with which 6 or 8 are attended (*vizt.* old Age)." ⁶⁹

When tribe, size, sex, and age were entirely satisfactory, the merchant had still to convince his potential purchasers that the cargo had arrived with no epidemic on board. The epidemic most to be feared was small-pox. Not only must a cargo placed on sale be absolutely free from this infection but the public must believe it to be free. "I have been a Witness of the Loss of £500. or £1000. on a Cargo only from a Report of such Dangers", wrote Laurens in 1773.⁷⁰ The slaving captain was obliged to guard against the danger of this disease among his negroes on the West Coast, throughout the Middle Passage, and even after he reached Charleston, for here it had been a dreaded scourge since very early days. First steps toward quarantine were taken as early as 1698, and as the danger of transmitting the disease was better understood the quarantine regulations grew more drastic.⁷¹ All vessels were subject to examination and if there were any grounds for suspicion the cargo was detained until there was no possibility of danger. In 1738, with the disease raging in the city, precautions were redoubled and slave cargoes were not allowed to land in Charleston at all, but were carried up the Ashley

⁶⁹ Dec. 24, 1764, Laurens to Lloyd and Barton; Jan. 31, 1756, to Gidney Clarke; Nov. 9, 1756, to Capt. Valentine Powell; Feb. 14, 1757, to John and William Halliday; July 5, 1756, to Samuel and William Vernon; Nov. 20, 1756, to Gidney Clarke; Aug. 10, 1756, to John Knight, "Our People are now become very delicate in what they buy, must have Such as dont Exceed the age of Twenty".

⁷⁰ Mar. 17, 1773, Laurens to Knight. It is not the purpose of this article to enter into a discussion of the manifold perils which beset a captain on the West Coast or during the Middle Passage.

⁷¹ McCrady, *Proprietary Government*, pp. 308, 513; Cooper, *Statutes*, II. 152, 382-385; III. 127-130, 694-696.

River and sold on shipboard.⁷² In 1760, with small-pox again prevalent in Charleston, one finds in the advertisements of cargoes such assurances as these: "The utmost care has already been taken to keep them free from the least danger of being infected with Small-pox, no boat having been on board, and all other communications with people from Charles Town prevented." Still more reassuring to the prospective customer was the statement, "most of whom have had the small-pox in their own country".⁷³

The prices of the incoming negroes responded to many influences. Laurens's statement that, given a moderate importation, price was wholly influenced by "the value of our staples, Rice and Indigo", is illuminating, though scarcely to be taken with complete literalness.⁷⁴ He himself frequently mentioned other factors in the price-setting. Drought, failure of crops used to feed the negroes, news of importations to come, wars and rumors of wars, the changes in duty regulations, the opening of new lands in Carolina, the increasing demand from Georgia, all these elements contributed to the con-

⁷² *South Carolina Gazette*, June 29, 1738. Later in the summer there was evidently some question raised about the cargo of the *Princess Caroline*, for the same issue of the *Gazette* which published the notice of the sale of her cargo contained the following item: "As has been reported about Town that the Ships Crew and Cargo on board the Ship *Princess Caroline*, Capt. Johnson Commander to Mr. Hill and Guerard, are very sickly, and as I visited the Ship very carefully in Rebellion Road, am oblig'd thus to satisfy that I found no room for any such Report. JOHN MOULTRIE." *Ibid.*, Aug. 3, 1738. The signer of this statement was probably the Dr. John Moultrie who practised medicine in Charleston from 1729 to 1771. McCrady, *Royal Government*, p. 414.

⁷³ *South Carolina Gazette*, Apr. 26, Oct. 8, 1760. The following notice suggests the measures taken, once small-pox broke out on shipboard: "The Small-Pox having made its appearance on some of the negroes on board the vessel, soon after she left the coast, the remainder were immediately inoculated, and at the time of her arrival here, on the 31st of March last, only six had then the disorder, and they upon the recovery: Every precaution hath since been taken to cleanse both ship and cargo, and no danger from infection can be justly apprehended." *Ibid.*, May 4, 1769.

⁷⁴ May 8, 1756, Laurens to Capt. Samuel Linnecar. "The price of Slaves here while they are imported in moderate numbers is wholly influenced by the value of our Staples, Rice and Indigo, and as these have been depreciated much below the prices of last Year, so have the Planters slacknd in the purchase of Slaves, lowerd the prices and lengthend out the Credit." The beginning of profitable rice culture has already been referred to; indigo had become a source of income about the middle of the century. In response to petitions from Carolina planters and English weavers and dyers, a bounty upon its culture was granted in 1748, Anderson, *Origins of Commerce*, III. 541. Laurens wrote in 1749 that the quantity of rice was greatly reduced by the attention given to indigo, Jan. 20, 1749, Laurens to Foster Cunliffe. Writing of the high prices of 1754, Glen said, "I presume tis Indigo that puts us all in such high Spirits". Glen to the Board of Trade, British Transcripts, XXVI. 111.

stant fluctuation of price which was so marked a characteristic of the Carolina trade. "The Market in this Country does not continue as in the West Indies, long at a Medium price, our prices are (almost without exception) either high or too low to make tolerable profits by."⁷⁵ For the first half of the century there is little specific information as to the value of the newly imported negroes, but for the second half we have a body of facts sufficient to furnish material for some analysis of price, though one must bear in mind that, after all, the basis for conclusions is dangerously narrow and the conclusions can be but tentative.

For 1749-1751 account-books among the Laurens papers show prices ranging from £110 to £290 currency, but since these records include both boys and girls and men and women, the wide range indicates nothing as to price fluctuation. In April, 1751, the price most frequently recorded for negro men is £245; in August, £250. Boys vary in value from £130 to £170. The highest return noted for the year, £290, is for a woman, which leads one to conjecture that she was a seasoned, not a new, negro. Otherwise the price is inexplicable, since at the same time prime men were selling for £250.⁷⁶ For 1754 we likewise have definite figures. Glen, writing to the Board of Trade, says that the value of men has reached £250, £260, and £270, and women £200, in contrast with the "usual prices" of £170, and £190 for the best men. He adds that these are better prices than are paid in any other part of the "King's Dominions".⁷⁷ In 1755 Laurens, now deeply engrossed in his business affairs, devotes much of his correspondence to comments on price changes and their significance. In the spring of that year prime men brought from £260 to £270 and a cargo was expected to average £29 sterling.⁷⁸ In June he wrote: "Our planters are in full spirits for purchasing Slaves and have almost all the money hoarded up for that purpose."⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Sept. 2, 1768, Laurens to Ross and Mill.

⁷⁶ Laurens Account-Book, Apr. 12, 1749-Aug. 31, 1751. The difference in price between men and women was about £3 stg., though it sometimes reached £6. At one time Laurens wrote of boys from thirteen to fifteen selling for from £5 to £6 less than men; at another, from £4 to £5 less. July 17, 1755, Laurens to Smith and Clifton; Aug. 13, 1755, to Capt. William Jenkinson. The rate of exchange at this time was seven to one. See Wallace, p. 53, for the rates from 1710 to 1770.

⁷⁷ British Transcripts, XXVI. 111.

⁷⁸ May 27, 1755, Laurens to Wells, Wharton, and Doran.

⁷⁹ June 12, 1755, Laurens to Capt. Charles Gwynn. The price on the West Coast of Africa probably varied from £8 to £12, possibly £15, during the period under consideration. A few estimates of the cost of delivering the negroes to the American market exist, though nothing satisfactory is as yet available on the subject. For one statement, see Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, p. 38, n. 41.

The price had advanced to £270 and £290, and one cargo had actually averaged £33 sterling, though this was not paid without demur: "our People growl in the Gizard a good deal at paying more than £260. this price they would be contented with which is equal to £37. 2. 10 stg."⁸⁰ Through July and August the price continued to rise. Calabars, to Carolinians the most despised of all negroes, sold for £270; prime negroes reached £300, and the appetite for them was still unsatisfied: "a thousand Slaves would not have supplyd their wants." This frenzied buying continued through August, September, and October, one cargo in good condition averaging £33 14s., and individual Gambia negroes selling for £330.⁸¹ By November the reaction had set in, and captains, drawn to Carolina by the news of these extraordinary prices, disposed of their cargoes with difficulty. The price of prime men dropped to £260, and at that price they were but slowly disposed of.

In January, 1756, the average price of a cargo hovered about £30; in February it fell to £28; in June Laurens wrote that it was very difficult to bring planters in to a sale.⁸² Nevertheless, one cargo sold that month averaged £29. Negro merchants were encouraged by this slight upward movement, only to see it checked by the arrival of "three or four Callabar Ships, one on the Heels of another".⁸³ The tide turned again in 1757, and by March of that year even the undesirable Calabar was bringing £40 sterling.⁸⁴

For the years from 1758 to 1762 we have scant detail, but for 1763 we once more have a body of price figures. Letters written March 26 and May 21 of that year predict high prices, while complaining that there have been no arrivals.⁸⁵ In June we have the re-

While the cost of production was one of the long-time factors operating on the supply brought to the colonies, it had little effect on the market price at any given moment, and no consideration of it is essential at this point. Any definitive study of price and profit in the slave trade could, of course, not dispense with as careful an investigation as can be made of the costs of the business.

⁸⁰ June 27, 1755, Laurens to Thomas Mears; July 2, 1755, to Henry Weare and Company, "We sold off those Men from 240. to £260. that we would not have insurd to reach the Masters Plantations alive for £100. per head they were so very low". Cargoes were at this time averaging £20. 10 stg. in the West India markets. June 26, 1755, Laurens to John Knight.

⁸¹ July 21, 1755, Laurens to John Knight; July 31, 1755, to Devonsheir, Reeve, and Lloyd; Aug. 30, 1755, to Henry Weare and Company; Sept. 26, same to same.

⁸² June 12, 1756, Laurens to Samuel and William Vernon. "Not Twenty appeard at a Sale of 350 Slaves ten days ago."

⁸³ July 5, 1756, Laurens to John Knight.

⁸⁴ Mar. 21, 1757, Laurens to Capt. Thomas Hinde; Mar. 26, 1757, to Richard Oswald.

⁸⁵ This is not strictly accurate. The *Gazette* reported one cargo of 160 in January. Gomer Williams, in his *History of Liverpool Privateers*, p. 259, states that in 1759 Whydah negroes were selling in Charleston for £35 11 s.

port of a cargo which averaged between £33 and £34, the best men yielding £320 per head, "and small Boys £260 to £280". It is clear that an era of prosperity and reckless buying, similar to that of 1755, is fully launched. By October prime men had risen to £36; in November a cargo averaged £36 9s.⁸⁶ Throughout 1764 values continued to soar. "Negroes have sold here at very exorbitant prices all the past Summer and even down to this time. I have just transmitted a Sale of a parcel of Men refuse, aged, half blind and one dumb and deaf, which made an average of £34 Sterling—prime negroes will yield full £40", wrote Laurens on December 24 of that year.⁸⁷ Prices of prime men reached £43 before they were halted, not by a market reaction, but by a prohibitive duty, imposed for a term of three years. During this orgy of buying the *Gazette* estimated that the planters had spent for new negroes £177,870 sterling, or £1,250,090 currency.⁸⁸

Three years later, with the end of the imposition in sight, negro cargoes were again arriving in Charleston, ready for sale the moment the ban should be lifted. Laurens himself had now dropped out of active trade in negroes and his price quotations are by no means as frequent as for the earlier period. We know only that the supply that was brought was large and the sales slower than had been expected. Before long Charleston merchants were attempting to halt in the West Indies cargoes directed to Carolina. The *Gazette* estimated that if the negroes destined for Carolina arrived, £270,000 sterling would be spent for them.⁸⁹ In December, Bull wrote that the 5438 negroes imported that year "sold upon an average near £40 sterling".⁹⁰

Friction between the English government and the colonies, resulting in the signing of the non-importation agreement, to take effect January 1, 1770, once more cut off the flood of incoming negroes. Though surreptitious attempts to bring them in were doubtless made,

⁸⁶ June 23, 1763, Laurens to John Rutherford; July 15, 1763, to John Knight; Aug. 25 and Oct. 19, 1763, to Smith and Baillies; Nov. 12, 1763, to Henry Bright. This last was a Gambia cargo, nearly all well-grown negroes.

⁸⁷ Dec. 24, 1764, Laurens to Lloyd and Barton.

⁸⁸ *South Carolina Gazette*, June 29, 1765. This estimated the number imported since Nov. 1, 1764, at 5082, and the price at £35, exchange at seven to one. Laurens, it may be noted, was opposed to the imposition of this duty. See letters of Aug. 24 and Sept. 12, 1764, to John Knight and Henry Bright. For the text of the act see *Statutes of South Carolina*, IV, 187.

⁸⁹ *Georgia Gazette*, Dec. 14, 1768; *South Carolina Gazette*, Mar. 2, 1769. This statement, coupled with Bull's estimate that the average value for that year was £40, indicates an expected importation of about 7000, which is perhaps 1500 more than were actually brought.

⁹⁰ Dec. 6, 1769, Bull to Board of Trade, British Transcripts, XXXII, 122.

the agreement seems, on the whole, to have been successfully enforced in Carolina throughout 1770.⁹¹ For 1771 and 1772 we have only fragmentary material on slave prices. In the spring of 1771 Laurens reports to a correspondent that "4 or 5 hundred from the West Indies had averaged upward of £40 stg." A few weeks later he spoke of a cargo as averaging £275 13s. 4d., with exchange at seven to one. The statement of the *Gazette* that prices were double those prevailing ten years before is certainly an exaggeration, though values were rising. One small lot in the fall of 1772 was said to have averaged £45. A few months later, however, Laurens speaks with apparent satisfaction of a sale in which the average value was between £34 and £35. In spite of the unprecedented numbers offered for sale in May and June of 1773, prime men sold for £350 and women for £290, and we have no evidence of a decline in 1774.⁹²

For the factors contributing to these fluctuations we can again turn to Laurens. He was a keenly discriminating, a well-informed, and an interested observer, who not only recorded the changing prices from month to month and year to year, but offered to his English and West India correspondents his explanation of the changes. The contemporary account thus provided needs little addition to make it an adequate analysis of the market price of negroes during most of the years for which we have his letters. With the growing demand for Carolina's products and their resulting increase in price, the planter was justified, as Laurens recognizes, in placing a higher valuation on negroes. As a result of the great sale of indigo in 1754, a heavy crop had been planted for 1755. The need for labor thus created accounts for the first period of high prices here described—that of 1755. "We verily believe that many of them [the planters] have planted much more than they can reap and work without an augmentation of their Slaves."⁹³ The price of indigo, however, could scarcely account for the reckless purchases of the autumn months, and to the purely economic explanation one must add the speculative elements in the business, and the exciting effect on the

⁹¹ The *Georgia Gazette*, May 10, 1770, speaks of three arriving cargoes which were at once reshipped; see also *South Carolina Gazette*, July 19, 1770; Sept. 22, 1770, Laurens to Capt. John Tench.

⁹² Apr. 20, 1771, Laurens to Richard Oswald; May 28, 1771, to the same; *South Carolina Gazette*, Aug. 20, 1772; Sept. 8, 1772, John Hopton to John Holman (Laurens Letter-Book); Jan. 23, 1773, Laurens to John Lewis Gervais; June 25, 1773, Hopton to Holman (Laurens Letter-Book). Williams, *Liverpool Privateers*, p. 529, gives the average price of Elbe negroes in Charleston in 1771 as £40; in 1772, as £39 15s., and the average for all negroes as from £50 to £54. This is so at variance with other statements that it seems probable that it is an overstatement.

⁹³ June 12, 1755, Laurens to Capt. Charles Gwynn.

planter of competitive bidding. Indeed, the state of mind of the planter is frequently emphasized by Laurens as something quite apart from his economic interest. "Some of the Buyers went to collaring each other and would have come to blows had it not been prevented in contending for the choice, which gave the Seller an excellent opportunity to make them pay what price he pleased."⁹⁴

For the reaction of 1756, Laurens offers four reasons: a drought which caused the loss of most of the late indigo; a fall in the value of indigo, phenomena one would scarcely expect to find coinciding; the loss of the crops which supplied the negro with provisions; and the prospect of war. "Having a very dry spell of weather in August and September which shortnd our Crops of Indigo considerably and that Commodity being likely to fall a good deal in price with us our Planters grew very cool in buying of Negroes that we now doubt whether £260. could be obtain'd for a parcell of good Men"; "our People can't think of buying Slaves when they don't know which way they shall get Provisions to feed them".⁹⁵

Throughout the year 1755 the letters reflect their writer's speculations as to the probable effect of war rumors on purchases and prices: will the planters, in doubt as to the future, cautiously refrain from buying till times are more settled, or will the threat of war incite them to buy while they can, lest the supply of negroes be cut off by the outbreak of hostilities? Obviously, the murmurs of war

⁹⁴ July 31, 1755, Laurens to Thomas Easton and Company. "Twas owing to a Struggle between some Warm Competitors", Laurens wrote of one excessive price, Sept. 27, 1755. For an excellent discussion of the reasons why slaves have at various times sold for sums greater than any probable capitalization of their future earnings, see Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, pp. 394-395. Though Mr. Phillips is writing specifically of a later period his suggestion that all the planters were engaged in a "venturesome business" and accustomed to taking large risks applies even more pointedly to this era. Certainly the instability of price of their staple crops injected into their business a high degree of speculation at best. It is also true of this period, as well as of the later one, that the planter with money in hand had little else that he could do with it. Mr. Phillips's dictum, that "the successful proprietors of small plantations could afford to buy additional slaves at somewhat more than the price reckoned on *per capita* earnings, because the advance of their establishments towards the scale of maximum efficiency would reduce the proportionate cost of administration", one hesitates to accept for the eighteenth century. It assumes a large fixed charge for running the plantation, aside from the labor cost. Whether true or not in the later time, it could hardly have been true at this time. The planter's labor costs, given the low price of land and the simple machinery with which he operated, must have constituted a large proportion of his costs. What the planter, calculating whether to buy more slaves or not, was actually interested in at all times, was the capitalized product of the marginal or additional laborer. Mr. Phillips does not make it entirely clear whether this is what he means by his "per capita" earnings or not.

⁹⁵ Nov. 1, 1755, Laurens to Smith and Clifton; Aug. 26, 1756, to Devonsheir, Reeve, and Lloyd.

throughout the summer of 1755, in so far as they had any effect, acted as a spur to rash buying, but by December the war cloud was heavy enough to bring to the planters some sense of reality: insurance rates on Carolina products rose to fifteen or sixteen per cent.;⁹⁶ the loss of the Portuguese and Spanish markets was imminent. Hence the fall in the price of Carolina products which gave pause to the eager buying of slaves.

Because of the lack of facilities for transmitting information, the supply of negroes shipped to Charleston was slow to respond to this change in the market conditions. In spite of Laurens's efforts to divert shipments to other ports, efforts probably shared by many merchants, news of the prices of 1755 continued to draw cargoes to Charleston throughout the winter and spring of the next year.⁹⁷ The lowered prices of 1756 came at a time when the costs of shipment were steadily increasing, and the protests of the English and West India merchants over the decreasing amounts realized from their cargoes drew from Laurens an acute analysis, of a kind not then usual, of the relation between the sellers' costs and the Carolina prices of slaves.

We observe that you cannot reconcile it to your self that the price of Slaves must fall with us in time of War, on considering the Freight Insurance, Mens Wages, etc. must greatly advance and inhance the price of them when they come to Market. these Matters are not all considered by our Planters, the only point with them is what price the Value of their Produce will enable them to give, and a very just consideration this, for many Rice Plantations that clear to the proprietors from 500 to £1000. Sterling per Annum in times of Peace will scarcely defray their own expenses in time of War, the price of that Commodity being so much affected by the high Freights and Insurance its clogd with, which the produce of your Islands being of abundantly more Value is not proportionably affected by.⁹⁸

Dry weather and apprehensions of war combined to maintain this state of affairs throughout the summer. "The advice of War Struck Our planters all of a heap and to this is now added Such a drought that Our Indigo and Negro provisions is almost totally demolished,

⁹⁶ Nov. 8, 1755, Laurens to Capt. James Bennett; Dec. 14, 1755, to Law, Satterthwaite, and Jones.

⁹⁷ Feb. 23, 1756, Laurens to Samuel Touchett. Laurens adds to the reasons given above another effect of the war which operated at the end of 1755, that is, an unexpected increase in the supply of slaves, caused by Commodore Frankland's captures of French cargoes, some of which were sold in Charleston. April 13, 1756, Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company.

⁹⁸ Feb. 21, 1756, Laurens to Gidney Clarke. On Jan. 12, 1756, Laurens stated that the price of rice was 30 s. per cwt., at a credit of six months.

which happens also at a time when the place is quite Chgd. with Slaves, that god knows what we Shall do with them."⁹⁹

For the revival of prices in 1757 the reason is not far to seek. As a result of war scarcity the value of Carolina products was once again high enough to stimulate slave buying. "Our Planters having had a glorious sale for their Indigo and Rice this Year we imagine they will buy Slaves with great Spirit in the Spring so that if you shall have a good healthy Cargo and can be with us between this and the month of July, the earlier the better, we would recommend to you to come down here."¹⁰⁰ The prediction was fulfilled. Demand was greatly increased and the slow sales and low prices of the preceding year operated to keep the incoming supply small, with the results already set forth.

The absence of data throughout the early years of the conflict makes it impossible to trace in any satisfactory fashion the effects of the war itself on the value of slaves. Clearly the war prices of rice and indigo continued to push up the value of the negro but one can not venture much beyond that simple assertion. In 1763 Laurens speaks of another factor which was increasing the demand for negroes, the population engaged in opening the new lands in western and northwestern Carolina.¹⁰¹ The fact that the high prices of rice and indigo in 1764 had given to the richer planters money for investment and had made it possible for poor ones to pay off past debts encouraged rich and poor alike to provide themselves with an ample supply of laborers before the prohibitive act should become effective. These conditions, instanced by Laurens, probably account for the extraordinary demand of 1765.¹⁰² The flooding of the market at the end of this period certainly indicates that the merchants, with a shortsightedness not uncommon, had expected to repeat the sales of 1765 rather than those of normal years. Laurens himself seems to have foreseen a purchase greater than that which actually followed. Just before the removal of the duty he wrote:

Here are about 150 Negroes imported in different bottoms from the West Indies waiting for the opening of 1769 . . . and I do suppose there will soon be ten Times as many; the Planters are full of Money, and their Rice commands Money wherefore 'tis probable that the Sale of Slaves will

⁹⁹ July 24, 1756, Laurens to Robert and John Thompson and Company. For Laurens's efforts to dispose of a cargo at this time see *South Carolina Gazette*, July 1, 1756.

¹⁰⁰ Jan. 24, 1757, Laurens to Capt. Christopher Berry. "Rice sells current at 35/ per 100 and we believe there has been 400,000 of indigo sold by this day at 25/ to 30. per ct. and which put our planters in high spirits", Jan. 15, 1757.

¹⁰¹ Feb. 15, 1763, Laurens to Richard Oswald and Company.

¹⁰² Dec. 24, 1764, Laurens to Lloyd and Barton.

be very advantageous at this Market until we are overstock'd or interrupted by any broils with King's Officers—the latter I hope is at a much greater distance than the period of my Life, but yet the aspect of the Times is exceedingly unpleasant.¹⁰³

During the following years Laurens grew increasingly anxious over the injuries which, in such troublous times, he believed the trade might inflict upon the colony. His references are no longer to details of prices and sales, conditions of the crops, and the desires of the planters, but rather to larger considerations of well-being, quite divorced from the profit or loss of individuals. Writing to his brother from England in the spring of 1773 he said:

I have a foreboding of several troublesome Events. In the first place there will probably be a superabundant Importation of Negroes. Charles Town will be thereby in danger of Contagious Distempers which alone are very dreadful. The Amot. of Imports taking in the Arrears of last Year will far exceed that of Exports, the bad Sale of all our produce on this side, will drive Guarantees and Creditors here to push Debtors on the other. Rise of Exchange, Injurious delays of Payment and failures where least expected will follow.¹⁰⁴

His alarms find no reflection in slackened purchases. The "unpleasant aspect of the times" had little effect upon the planters' appetite for slaves unless to sharpen it. If our figures are at all trustworthy, the imports of 1769, disappointing though they were to the over-optimistic merchants, nearly doubled those of 1764, without seriously depressing the price. Checked for a year by the non-importation agreement of 1770, they reached unprecedented proportions between 1771 and 1774. In May, 1773, twelve cargoes in the harbor waited sale, the number of blacks amounting to about 1900. Between May 1 and June 1, 3514 negroes were brought in. By the first of October forty-three Guineamen had brought slaves to the Charleston market. The *Gazette*, ever sceptical of the beneficial effects of large importations, commented repeatedly on the unusual number of cargoes arriving.¹⁰⁵ Laurens, still in England, found his uneasiness increasing. "If I was an Owner of African Vessels on this side I would not trust a Cargo there, if a Merchant there I would not wish to receive a Cargo", he wrote in March, 1774.¹⁰⁶ His advice was not taken. In that stormy year at least fourteen vessels delivered cargoes in Charleston. In the face of such a supply, the maintenance of the price suggests panic fear on the part of the planters lest the trade be cut off entirely, as indeed it was soon to be.

¹⁰³ Dec. 24, 1768, Laurens to Ross and Mill.

¹⁰⁴ Mar. 11, 1773, Laurens to James Laurens; see also letter of Mar. 17 to John Knight.

¹⁰⁵ *South Carolina Gazette*, May 31, June 14, 28, July 26, Sept. 20, 27, 1773.

¹⁰⁶ Mar. 17, 1774, Laurens to John Knight.

Boston's call for general non-importation was considered by Charleston in July, 1774. The merchants of the city resolved to oppose any such measure and were successful in preventing the passage of non-importation and non-exportation resolves at the general meetings of July 6 and 8. Their candidates to the Continental Congress were, however, defeated, and the Carolina delegates went with full power to agree to any measure passed by that Congress.¹⁰⁷ The result is well known. With the signing of the Association by the Carolina members of the Philadelphia meeting and the approval of their action by the South Carolina Provincial Congress, which contained many merchants, the slave trade into Charleston came to an end for the period of the Revolution.¹⁰⁸ In our records of the Carolina debates over the adoption of the Association little attention is given to the slave trade. Merchants and planters alike seem, for the time at least, to be content to bring the traffic to an end, as well they might be with a negro population variously estimated at from 80,000 to 110,000.¹⁰⁹ The remarkable increase of the labor supply of the colony throughout the eighteenth century had without doubt made possible the rapid exploitation of Carolina's natural resources and had helped to create a merchant group of considerable wealth but by the 'seventies it is probable that the economic interests of Carolina derived but doubtful advantage from the trade in slaves. This fact Laurens well recognized and the absence of any discussion of the traffic in the debates over the Association may indicate that his view was also that of many of the merchants and planters represented in the Provincial Congress.

ELIZABETH DONNAN.

¹⁰⁷ Force, *Archives*, fourth series, I. 525, 526, 531-534.

¹⁰⁸ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, I. 75-80. The second section of the Association reads as follows: "We will neither import nor purchase, any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it." For the Carolina debates see Force, *Archives*, fourth series, I. 1111-1116. Drayton records one case of importation in 1775, in which the vessel, with three hundred slaves, was at once sent from the colony. *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, I. 182.

¹⁰⁹ McCrady, *South Carolina under Royal Government*, p. 807.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE MEDICI ACCOUNT-BOOKS

A BRIEF note concerning the Medici Account-Books appeared in the January issue (p. 483), and a more detailed account may not be uninteresting to readers of the *Review*.

I was privileged for a few hours to examine some of these books of manuscripts placed with the Baker Library at Boston by H. Gordon Selfridge, who purchased them at auction at the famed auction rooms of Christie's in London. The total collection is a large one and would have been larger if the Italian government had not pre-empted certain manuscripts for reasons of state, under a special law against the exportation from Italy of works of art and records of national importance. The ninety-eight books of manuscripts which I saw are the original business accounts of branches of the Medici family, and contain also a large number of holograph letters of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

There are accounts, letters, and memoranda in Latin, early Italian, French, Spanish, and in cipher. Some of the letters are written over first writings and are therefore difficult to decipher, and some are faded or torn; but on the whole, the writings are well preserved, thanks to good binding.

Among the manuscripts are numerous credit and debit ledgers, sales accounts, memoranda relating to prices of raw material, commodities such as wool, silk, linen, sugar, spices, country produce, and wages and salaries. A day-book of 1484 records transactions in merchandising, as well as personal expenditures, dealings with goldsmiths and dealers in jewelry and objects of luxury.

The Medici, through quasi or actual partnership arrangements with merchant and manufacturing clients of their banks, engaged directly or indirectly in many branches of trade and commerce. Their business antennae reached out to all parts of the then known world. They had branches and warehouses in Constantinople and the Levant as well as in the other trading countries of Europe. Their transactions were universal in scope and extent. Scattered throughout these manuscripts there are fragmentary items of great value to the student of economics to-day concerning the commercial and industrial life of Florence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The collection of manuscripts contains memoranda regarding seizures

of property, deeds of sale, leases, dowry agreements, marriage contracts and settlements. There, too, are powers of attorney, court orders, wills, testamentary depositions, reports on trade conditions, and bank and credit reports.

Interesting items occur concerning gifts and presents to the popes by the Medici family. These included not only wines but costly pieces of cloths and silks. In one of the letters accompanying a present to the pope is a request for the loan of two Greek books "long enough to have them copied". In 1491 there is a note in Latin, dated May 13, requesting the return of a number of books, with the significant caution that non-compliance will "incur blame".

In a letter from a correspondent to Cosmo de' Medici ("Pater Patriae") a communication received is characterized as "uncouth" in style but bearing on a matter worthy of attention.

The manuscripts contain many items that show how unchangeable human nature is, no matter what the period of history is under consideration. The influence of the Medici is solicited for all kinds of favors, aid in securing remission of sentences, terms of imprisonment, and positions of responsibility and honor.

Military matters such as the campaigns in Flanders in 1705 and the siege of Ostend are treated; plans of fortification in Italy are given, and there is correspondence regarding the dispute between the kings of Naples and Scotland regarding the precedence of their respective ambassadors.

The manuscripts are of much interest from a linguistic as well as a commercial and banking viewpoint, and it is probable that the translation of some of the documents will cast compellingly interesting side-lights on finance and economics that will be in themselves a new chapter in the study of mundane affairs, for far-reaching indeed were the Medicean activities with "history in the making" in Europe and in the then known world in which the giant of commerce and industry shook off his slumbers, and awakened to astound the universe with an ebullieny of energy and effort that connotes the civilization we are privileged to enjoy to-day.

The period from 1350 to 1575 has a fascination for the student of economics and sociology almost unexcelled for variety. In 1422 Florence under the Medici had more than 70 banks. In 1472 they were merged and consolidated in 33. These banks were called the "Fifth Estate". The Medici had sixteen banking houses in different European cities. The Medici banks received deposits of money for safe-keeping, lent sums out on collateral security, discounted commercial paper, issued bills of exchange, and traded in foreign coins

and bullion. The Fuggers, the Pozzi, and other Italian bankers struck their own coins. The minting of coins in Florence began its series in 1224; the earliest gold coin (the florin) was struck in 1253.

I understand that the manuscripts are being translated and that the Graduate School of Business Administration in Harvard University anticipates from a complete translation of the documents much new light upon medieval economics and business transactions.

D. HAVELOCK FISHER.

DOCUMENTS

1. *Jefferson to William Short on Mr. and Mrs. Merry, 1804.*

THE manuscript of the following letter figured in one of the recent auction sales of Mr. Stan. V. Henkels of Philadelphia, through whose kindness the text here presented was obtained. It gives a somewhat fuller explanation of a famous episode in Jefferson's presidency than any from his pen that seems to be in print elsewhere,¹ that of the dinner of December 2, 1803, and the resulting conflict respecting official etiquette in Washington.²

From the time of the arrival of Anthony Merry and his wife, November 26, 1803, the diplomatic corps in Washington consisted of the Marqués de Yrujo, envoy extraordinary of Spain, Louis A. Pichon, chargé d'affaires of France, Peder Pedersen, chargé d'affaires of Denmark, and the British envoy.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 23, 1804.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 17th is duly received and consoles me under the chagrin of the necessity which had come upon me, contrary to my calculation but it will not lessen the devotion of my efforts to the main object. I had just before the receipt of your letter fallen on a bundle of papers which I had brought with me from Monticello to put into your hands, but they escaped my recollection and notice while you were here. They are now inclosed and compose the whole of those I possess which concern your affairs.

You will have seen by the newspapers that there is something of etiquette between the diplomatic gentry and us. that there exists such a subject of disagreement is true, but every particular fact respecting it, which I have yet seen in any newspaper is false. Mr. and Mrs. Merry, M. and Mde. Yrujo claim at private dinners (for of public dinners we have none) to be first conducted to dinner and placed at the head of the table above all other persons citizens or foreigners, in or out of office. we say to them, no; The principle of society with us, as well as of our political constitution, is the equal rights of all; and if there be an occasion where this equality ought to prevail preeminently, it is in social circles collected for conviviality. nobody shall be above you, nor you above anybody, pele-mele is our law. As there is no lady in my family, I had made it a point when I invited female company to get the favor of one of the Secretary's ladies to come and take care of them; and as she was considered in some measure as assistant in the honors of the table, I led her to table myself, and naturally placed her by me, all others

¹ *E.g.*, Jefferson to Monroe, Jan. 8, 1804, *Writings*, ed. Ford, VIII. 290.

² See Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, II. 368-377; J. B. Moore, *International Law Digest*, IV. 751-758.

followed *pele-mele*. This had gone on for three years without exciting any jealousy that it was intended to give any rank to those ladies over their fellow citizens. It was generally understood, as a personal compliment to the lady who was so kind as to take the charge of my company of the other sex. You were present at the first and only dinner to which Mr. and Mrs. Merry have been invited by me, the next place they dined at was Mr. Madison's;³ where as in all private societies here the *pele-mele* is the law; and Mrs. Merry, happening, from the position where she was seated, not to be the foremost, Merry seized her by the hand, led her to the head of the table, where Mrs. Gallatin happening to be standing, she politely offered her place to Mrs. Merry, who took it without prudency or apology. Since this, she has declined dining except at one or two private citizens', where it is said there were previous stipulations; she did not come here on the Newyear's day, where every person of note, foreign or domestic, meets to interchange the compliments of the season, all mixed in the same room without the possibility of ceremony, and it is said the two families (Merry's and Yrujo's) mean to put themselves into coventry until further orders from their court. Mrs. Merry's jealousy was the first admonition to me that my usage, at my social dinners, could be misconstrued into an attribution of precedence to the ladies of the Secretaries, and I have from that moment changed it, taking now by the hand whomever position places in my way; and those ladies themselves were the first to approve the change, as they had never pretended to precedence over their fellow citizens or others. I thought it more honorable if an act of mine could be construed into a departure from the true principle of equality, to correct it at once, and get into the right road rather than by perseverance in what was incorrect, to tangle myself in inconsistencies. I presume the courts of these agents will have too much good sense to attempt to force on us their allotment of society into ranks or orders, as we have never pretended to force on them our equality. our ministers with them submit to the laws of their society; theirs with us must submit to ours. They plead the practices of my predecessors. These practices were not uniform: besides I have deemed it my duty to change some of their practices, and especially those which savoured of anti-republicanism. I have ever considered diplomacy as the pest of the peace of the world, as the workshop in which nearly all the wars of Europe are manufactured. On coming into the administration I dismissed one half of our missions and was nearly ripe to do so by the other half.⁴ the public opinion called for it, and would now be gratified by it: and as we wish not to mix in the politics of Europe, but in her commerce only, Consuls would do all the business we ought to have there, quite as well as ministers. Certainly we have not suffered by the change at Lisbon, or Berlin, as to any legitimate concerns we had at either place. I do not however expect that the policy of London or Madrid will be to drive us into a completion of the *a-diplomatic* system. in all this business Pichon has had the good sense to keep himself entirely

³ Dec. 6, 1803.

⁴ Jefferson at the beginning of his administration recalled William Smith from Portugal and William Vans Murray from the mission to the Batavian Republic, and made no nominations to those positions, nor to the mission to Prussia, from which John Adams had just recalled his son. He continued Rufus King at London, and sent R. R. Livingston to Paris, and Charles Pinckney to Madrid to replace David Humphreys.

aloof from it, and to go on as he had done for three years before. I did not mean when I entered on this subject to have detained you so long with it, but I am not sorry I have possessed you of the whole of it because you are much in society, and we really wish that it should be known to all correctly and according to truth. Those especially who read the *Gazette* of the U. S. need to be set to rights, for in the long statement which appeared in that paper about a week ago, there was not one single fact which was not false.⁵ I am happy to hear from you that there are some at least of our monied corps who do not maintain a spirit of opposition to the national will. every object of our wish, at home or abroad, is now satisfactorily accomplished, except the reduction of this mass of anti-civism which remains in our great trading towns. It is the only thing which ought not to occupy us, because tho' not 1/25 [of the] nation, they command 3/4 of it's public papers. That they should acquiesce in the will of the great majority is but a reasonable expectation, and no man knows the pressure which I have withstood to cover them from the besom of the public desire, I mean as to a general sweep from office. Those removed by me otherwise than for default, are not more than one twenty fifth part of the whole I found in office. Yet for this twenty fifth I am the single object of their accumulated hatred. I do not care for this now. I did at first, because I had believed they would have had the justice to be satisfied that I did so little when goaded to do so much. They can never now excite a pain in my mind by anything personal, but I wish to consolidate the nation, and to see these people disarmed either of the wish or the power to injure their country. The former is far the most desirable, but the attempt at reconciliation was honourably pursued by us for a year or two and spurned by them, and never given up until it was seen to be desperate. What you say induces me to hope this is not as Universal as I had supposed. however that the body of them are in active opposition, we may conclude from the aspect of their newspapers, which must be in unison with the minds of those who maintain them.

Above all the *Gazette* of the U. S. is evidence of this fact, because it is palpable that not only printers, but a body of writers, must be employed at the expense of individuals in publishing that paper, the most abandoned as to truth or decency of anyone that ever was published in the U. S. this is palpable by it's annual subscriptions. the advertisements constitute the whole profits of the papers. now the *Gazette* of the U. S. has scarcely ever a single advertisement, 4 pages of solid matter in small type, a great proportion of it original, and the whole so false and malignant, as shows it is prepared for the purpose of exportation, and to poison the minds of foreign countries against their own, which is too well informed to drink of the dose. still as long as a hope remains, that either their own interest, or a despair of changing the nature of our government will produce acquiescence voluntarily, this is devoutly to be attended as the most desirable way of doing, what must be done in some way, consolidating the nation.

⁵ What appears in the *Gazette of the United States* for Jan. 17, 1804, is a "letter from a gentleman in Washington", whose account of the episode, anti-Jeffersonian and sarcastic in tone, declares that *all* the secretaries' wives were led into dinner first, so that "Mr. and Mrs. Merry were left to view the procession as it passed, and he was then under the necessity of leading in his own wife, and accommodating her at table as well as he could".

If you pass another twelve month here, we shall hope to see you again in the South, and I think you cannot pass the months of August and September in a more healthy place than Monticello where we shall all be happy to see you. Congress is likely to continue a couple of months longer. Accept my friendly salutations and assurances of constant affection.

TH. JEFFERSON.

2. *Henry J. Raymond on the Republican Caucuses of July, 1866.*¹

EARLY in the summer of 1866 relations between the White House and the Capitol had frayed to a breaking-point in the bitter controversy over a reconstruction policy. Only a handful of the moderates, who had defended the veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill in February and had acquiesced in the presidential disapproval of the Civil Rights act the following month, were still on amicable terms with Andrew Johnson. In June Congress threw down the gage of battle by passing with large majorities a proposed amendment to the Constitution, prepared, under the watchful eye of Thaddeus Stevens, by the Joint Committee of Fifteen on Reconstruction. The President accepted the challenge by advising his friends to oppose ratification of the Congressional proposal. The issue then rested with the state legislatures. By the second week in July it had become evident that the constructive work of the Congressional session was rapidly nearing completion, but neither house seemed anxious to decide upon a date for adjournment. In view of the unusual importance of the autumn elections this reluctance to leave Washington appeared ominous. Congressmen who normally were eager to repair their political fences between sessions professed an unwonted willingness to remain at their posts of duty, even during the mid-summer heat. This apparent devotion to the nation's legislative business was the subject of caustic comment in the press, but the legislators' motives were not fully revealed until the caucus of Union Republican members assembled on the evening of July eleventh.

Called for the purpose of discussing the proper time for the first session of the Thirty-ninth Congress to adjourn, the caucus developed into a frank, and somewhat acrimonious, exchange of views upon the political reasons for prolonging the session. Though the ban of secrecy had been imposed at the opening of the meeting, the New York *Herald* on the following morning contained a graphic but slightly erroneous account of the proceedings. "Radical Congressional Caucus—Exciting and Significant Scenes—The Radical Dry Bones Rattling" ran the half-inch headlines announcing the disclosures to follow.

¹ Contributed by Dr. John A. Krout, assistant professor of history in Columbia University.

Several members took the floor advocating the continuance of the present session until the future policy of the President could be more definitely ascertained or some measures passed limiting the appointing power. The general drift of these speeches was to the effect that inasmuch as many members of the House were anxious to return to their homes and provide for their re-election, that body might adjourn and go home, but that the Senate should not concur and remain in session. It was not considered necessary to retain a quorum of the latter body even, as a less number could adjourn from day to day and thus perpetuate the session and prevent the president from turning out the radical office-holders and appointing conservatives without the advice and consent of the Senate. All agreed that the present office-holders throughout the country must be retained. It would never do to have a new set working against the Republican Party.²

The completeness of the *Herald's* report of the caucus surprised Congressmen, until it was discovered that one of James Gordon Bennett's ingenious reporters had gained admission to the press gallery of the House of Representatives by a judicious use of greenbacks on a negro doorkeeper who had imbibed too freely from the cup that cheers. Ejected before the discussion was finished, the eavesdropper relied upon his imagination to finish off the account.³ From such a source, then, the newspaper controversy over the actual proceedings of the caucus took its origin. The *Tribune*, *World*, and *Times* were filled with charges and counter-charges during the week following July twelfth.

Some new light is shed upon the nature of the caucus of July 11, as well as upon that of July 13, in an unpublished note-book among the papers of Henry J. Raymond.⁴ A member of the Thirty-ninth Congress from the sixth New York district, Raymond was regarded by his colleagues as the leader of the Johnson forces on the floor of the House. The *New York Times*, of which he was editor, supported President Johnson on all important questions connected with the political and economic reconstruction of the Southern states. Not only because of the commentator's prestige and influence, but also because his comment bears upon the whole question of the relation of presidential patronage to the dispute between Congress and President Johnson, Mr. Raymond's obviously personal memorandum is of more than ordinary interest. While the account is probably

² *New York Herald*, July 12, 1866.

³ *New York Times*, July 13, 1866.

⁴ The note-book was loaned to the present contributor in January, 1920, by Henry W. Raymond of Philadelphia, who had found it among certain manuscripts left by his father, Henry J. Raymond. It contains in addition to the notes on the Republican caucuses a brief comment on the Philadelphia Convention held by Johnson's friends in 1866. Shortly before Mr. H. W. Raymond's death in February, 1925, the note-book was still in his possession.

colored by the writer's political affiliations at the moment, it is sufficiently less partizan than the statements which appeared in the *Times* to warrant the belief that it is in the main an accurate record. Under date of July 12, the morning after the first caucus, Mr. Raymond wrote:

A caucus of Republican M.C.'s was held last evening in the hall of the Ho. of Reps. which was of considerable importance as foreshadowing the purpose and plans of the leading Radicals.

On motion of Mr. Morill of Vt., Banks of Mass. was elected Chairman and Mr. Ferry of Mich. Secretary. The caucus, so far as the House was concerned, was quite full but only eight senators were present.

Mr. Hotchkiss of N. Y. said that the meeting was called at the request of himself and others and its object was to have an interchange of views as to the next course to be pursued in regard to the rumored removal of office-holders by the President. He had no doubt that such removal was intended as soon as Congress should adjourn and in his state the "head butcher" had been appointed and stood at the door ready to strike. He deemed it the duty of Congress to stand by its friends and to make any sacrifice necessary to keep them in office. He thought Congress should remain in session so as to prevent removals.

A motion was put and carried that no member should speak more than five minutes nor more than once. Mr. Cobb of Wisconsin offered a resolution declaring every one present to be in honor bound to act in Congress and out in accordance with the decision of the caucus,—but this was voted down: a resolution of secrecy was adopted.

Mr. Farnsworth of Illinois then offered a resolution declaring that Congress would remain in session until December. He said any party that did not stand by its friends ought to go down, and we must stand by the men now in office. He thought it might be necessary for Congress to take other action before next session to prevent the accomplishment of schemes to restore the rebels to power. He believed the President was a traitor to the party and to the country and that he was ready for any measure, however desperate, which would put the govt. into the hands of the rebels. What his schemes were he did not know, but he had been told on good authority that Mr. Seward had said that this Congress would not meet again until the Southern States were admitted to all their rights.

Mr. Shellabarger of Ohio concurred in the necessity of taking precaution but he was not certain as to the best way of doing it. He offered a substitute for Mr. Farnsworth's resolution—appointing a committee of 9 (3 of the Senate and 6 of the House) to report on the subject at a future caucus.

Mr. Garfield of Ohio endorsed what had been said about the treachery of the President and the necessity of adopting some measures of precaution. He was happy to announce that Dennison had resigned and would have nothing to do with the Administration and hoped that other members of the cabinet would follow his example.⁵

Mr. Boutwell of Mass. said he thought we should be obliged to do a good many other things to save the country from the danger that

⁵ News of the resignation of Postmaster General Dennison was received with joy by Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, who believed that the Post-Office Department was being filled with enemies of President Johnson.

threatened it. A conspiracy was on foot to put the govt. into the hands of the rebels and the President was a party to it. He had no doubt they contemplated a resort to force, because it was in the logic of events that they should do so. He believed Andrew Johnson to be just as thoroughly a traitor as Jeff Davis and that nothing could save the country from destruction but the most prompt and effective preparation for every emergency. He believed an attempt would be made to force the rebels into Congress and the Phila Convention was part of the scheme. Any such attempt must and would be resisted by force. (Mr. Boutwell's remarks were loudly applauded.)⁶

Mr. Kelley of Pa. said "amen" to Mr. Boutwell and said that many as were the letters he received from his constituents upon the tariff, they were few in number compared with those he received entreating him to stand by Congress in its measures for the salvation of the country. He denounced the Phila Convention as a conspiracy of traitors and said he believed the President had got it up for the purpose of destroying the Union Party. The rebel sympathizers North and South were in favor of it. The N. Y. News and World advocated it as a means of destroying the Union Party and restoring the rebels to power. And the N. Y. Times, although it had not yet gone quite so far as this, also upheld and favored the convention.

Mr. Raymond of N. Y. said Mr. K. had not the shadow of right to attribute to the Times any such purpose as breaking up the Union party. He had his own views of the objects to be accomplished by the convention and he had not thus far concurred in the views expressed by those around him. He believed that properly managed the Convention would strengthen the Union party instead of destroying it. So long as he saw reason to think so, he should advocate it. Whenever he saw reason to believe that it was to be used to destroy the Union party neither the Times nor its editor would support it.

The resolution of Mr. Shellabarger was then adopted. Mr. Stevens of Pa. offered a resolution declaring it to be the duty of every Union man to denounce the Phil. Convention and render it odious to the people. He said he wanted the lines distinctly drawn between the friends and the enemies of the Union cause and wanted it distinctly understood that no one who favored the Phila. Convention could have any fellowship with Union men.

Mr. Bromwell of Ill. followed in favor of this—denouncing the President and saying we ought to revise all the laws under which offices were created which the President can fill—and that salaries should be abolished and other means taken to render the power of appointment useless in his hands. Congress could sit all summer—we were paid by the year and it made no odds.

⁶ In the latter part of June, 1866, the executive committee of a Washington club of Johnson's supporters issued a call for a "National Union Convention" to meet in Philadelphia in August. The call for this convention received a hearty response from most of the Northern Democrats who had gone into the Union Republican party during the war. A few notable "Copperheads" attached themselves to the movement. The South was represented by those ex-Confederates who had been active in reorganizing their state governments under the presidential plan of reconstruction. Few regular Republicans were interested in the convention.

Senator Lane of Ind. followed in a very excited speech, demanding the enactment of stringent laws to restrain and curtail the power of the President,—saying he was ready to sit all summer if necessary at the point of the bayonet—that if a victim was wanted he was ready—and declaring that a million soldiers would flash to the Capitol to sustain Congress against the tyranny of the President. His remarks were received with applause.

Mr. Raymond of N. Y. said he presumed he was not guilty of any undue assumption in supposing the resolution was aimed in part at least at him. He regarded it as a menace, and so far as it was a menace he regarded it with contempt. He was not responsible, financially, professionally or politically, to the gentleman from Penn.,⁷ nor to the delegation from Penn., nor to the Union members of Congress. He held position in the Union party by favor of his constituents and by appointment of the National Convention.⁸ When either of these authorities saw fit to expel him, he would give heed to it. But the action of that caucus was a matter of entire indifference. When the Phil. Convention was summoned he believed it would have a good effect in nationalizing the Union party. He could never conceal his conviction that unless the party was thus nationalized it would be short-lived, and he had therefore looked with favor on the call for the convention. Whenever he saw reason to change his opinion as to its effect and object he should act accordingly, for a newspaper was compelled to discuss all the phases of public affairs as they arise.

He branded as utterly false and ludicrous all intimation that his action was prompted by a desire for office—saying that he would accept no office at the hands of the administration and asserted his purpose to be governed by his own judgment of what was wise and just.

The resolution was then adopted, Mr. Hale of N. Y.⁹ alone voting *No* and Mr. Raymond declining to vote at all.

The Chairman appointed as the joint committee to consider the question of adjournment the following gentlemen: Senators Chandler of Michigan, Morrill of Me., and Nye of Nevada; Messrs. Hotchkiss of N. Y., Farnsworth of Ill., Boutwell of Mass., Colfax of Ind., Loan of Mo., and Kelley of Pa.

The caucus then adjourned.

A second caucus was held two days later which was attended by some of the more moderate Republicans in the Senate and by certain members of the House who were worried about their political future in their local communities. The desire to remain in Washington indefinitely to guard against the possible treason of Andrew Johnson was not so pronounced as in the first caucus. Under date of July 14, 1866, Mr. Raymond recorded his impressions of the meeting:

The caucus of the two houses reassembled at the call of the Committee.

⁷ Thaddeus Stevens.

⁸ Mr. Raymond had been designated as chairman of the National Committee of the Union Republican party by the National Convention of 1864.

⁹ Robert S. Hale was an able Administration Republican, who joined with the friends of Johnson in their attempt to make the Philadelphia Convention the nucleus of a political realignment throughout the nation.

Mr. Conkling of N. Y. called attention to the fact that in spite of the injunction of secrecy the proceedings of the last caucus had been published in the N. Y. newspapers—but in so inaccurate a shape as to do gross injustice to individual members. He suggested either that the caucus should be open or that steps be taken to make the injunction of secrecy effective.

Mr. Raymond suggested that the subject be postponed for the present and that the caucus proceed under the rules adopted at the former meeting.

Mr. Stevens and Mr. Garfield concurred in this.

The Chairman called on the Committee appointed on Wednesday for its report. Mr. Farnsworth of Ill. said that he did not see Senator Chandler who was chairman of the committee present. The Senator was in possession of the report of the committee but in his absence he would state its substance. The majority of the committee was in favor of continuing the session of Congress—or if that could not be carried—of the Senate at least through the summer. They had decided, therefore, not to recommend any time for adjournment.

Mr. Boutwell of Mass. said that he thought it very desirable that Congress should continue in session for other reasons than those which had been suggested. He would mention one. A distinguished gentleman from the South was in town from whom he had learned that the Louisiana Convention would meet on the 30th for the revision of the State Constitution and that amendments would be adopted disfranchising the rebels and enfranchising the loyal inhabitants without distinction of color.¹⁰ If Congress could be in session when this constitution should be adopted it could, in accordance with the precedent established in the R. I. case, accept it and thus give it validity as the Const. of the state. In the Rhode Island case the Supreme Court decided that it was for Congress to decide which was the constitutional govt. in any state in which doubt existed.¹¹ If Congress should not be in session a long time must elapse before action could be taken, the new govt. of the state might fail to get a foothold and the country would experience a very serious calamity.

Mr. Ashley of Ohio said that to wait for the Convention to act would take us over to October at least.

Speaker Colfax said he would state the condition of the public business. We had still one of the appropriation bills to act upon. The Rousseau-Grinnell case of privilege was still undecided. The Soldier's Bounty Bill would come back to us from the Senate. A bill concerning the Judges of the Supreme Court was pending and there were several other bills of a good deal of importance still pending.

Mr. Washburne of Ill. said he was perfectly willing to stay if there was any necessity for it. But it was clear that it was not required by the condition of the public business as stated by the Speaker. He had known more bills of importance than the Speaker had enumerated to go through in a single night. As to the rather wild idea of sitting all summer to prevent the President from running the country, he hoped the caucus would

¹⁰ The assembling of the Louisiana Convention was the occasion for a bloody race riot in New Orleans which discredited the President's cause by convincing many that the South could not be trusted to deal fairly with the freedmen.

¹¹ The reference is evidently to the opinion of the court in the case of *Luther v. Borden et al.*, arising out of the political confusion in Rhode Island during the Dorr Rebellion. 7 Howard 42.

not act upon any such motive. He moved that the caucus was in favor of adjourning on the 23rd.

Mr. Wilson of Iowa offered a resolution that Congress meet hereafter at 11 o'clock and that it is in favor of adjourning on the 23rd.

Mr. Morrill of Vt. said he was willing to remain in session if it would do any good. But he thought we could very easily finish our business and he was satisfied there was no necessity of sitting till December. It was clear that no rebel Congress could be brought into power before next March when this Congress would expire. But after that he was satisfied that the rebels would be brought in by fair means or foul. But we can do nothing about this until the time comes. It was easy to see, moreover, that the Senate had no intention of prolonging their session—they are daily putting over business of importance until December.

Mr. Bromwell of Illinois thought the question of admitting Tennessee should be disposed of in some way before we adjourn. He was as much opposed to a "rump" Congress as anybody, but we ought to dispose of important public business.

Senator Sherman of Ohio was satisfied that the Senate could finish its legitimate business in a week, and a majority of that body was clearly opposed to sitting through the summer for any political purpose. There were two bills of a political character pending:—one to prevent removals from office by the President and the other providing for the admission of Tennessee. For his own part he would vote to admit the Tennessee members at once, with or without the ratification of the constitutional amendments, but others do not concur in this. Some insist that the state shall ratify those amendments, some that they shall become part of the Constitution, before the state shall be admitted. One thing is certain:—the President is no longer with the Union party. We must look this fact full in the face. Whatever he can do to destroy it, he will do. But in spite of that the Union party stands firm. In his own state, Ohio, it was never more compact and united than it is today. He did not fear anything the President could do against it. With or without his aid or that of any who were associated with him, the Union Party can maintain its ascendancy. He thought Union members were needed at home to attend to the coming election.

Mr. Stevens of Pa. said that he could not agree with the remarks made by many gentlemen, nor could he concur in their views. Whence comes, he asked, this extreme anxiety, this unseemly haste to desert our post and abandon our friends to the tender mercies of the enemy? He was grieved to hear that the Senate which ought to protect the people against the machinations of the White House, was ready to adjourn. He had hoped that the people would be justified in looking to us as their guardians against the executive. How far our desertion of our posts would go towards breaking down the Union party he did not know, but one thing he did know—it would go very far to destroy the confidence of the people in Congress. He thought that if we could not make up our minds to stand to our posts, we need not be in haste at any rate, to adopt a resolution to adjourn—that we should remain in session as long as there was anything to do, and the longer the better. He did not believe we could do the business before us properly and deliberately in three weeks. He thought we ought not to think of adjourning until we passed enabling acts to authorize the rebel states to form constitutions on the principles of universal suffrage and of protecting loyal men and to enable them to

organize state governments under them. He deemed such a law of far greater importance than all the others that had been mentioned. He hoped gentlemen would not act hastily on the subject of adjournment.

Mr. Price of Iowa thought it important that members should be at home attending to matters there. Congress can do little and the President can do nothing to injure the country until this Congress expires. We have no power over the thousands of small office-holders who are really the working politicians. He believed the President to be the vilest man that ever sat in that place and he would stay here and die if necessary to thwart his traitorous schemes. But he did not believe any good could be accomplished by staying.

Mr. Conkling of N. Y. thought it very important that whatever Congress does in legislation should be done deliberately and with care—not under whip and spur as had been suggested by the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Washburne. That was the very worst manner of legislating. He concurred entirely with Mr. Stevens in his view of the case. He hoped we would not meet at any other time than the usual hour, that we stay long enough to do all our business properly and then adjourn.

Mr. Farnsworth of Ill. offered a resolution that Congress would not adjourn until a law had been passed restraining the President's power of removal.¹² But the previous question had been demanded by several members and it was not received.

The demand for the previous question was sustained and the provision to meet at 11 o'clock was stricken out. The resolution to adjourn on the 23rd then coming up,

Mr. Stevens of Pa. moved to lay it on the table. This was lost: and the resolution was adopted ayes 64, noes 40.

Mr. Raymond moved that the injunction of secrecy be removed from the proceedings of both caucuses.

Mr. Stevens of Pa. said he hoped it would be, that the people might see how indifferent Congress was to the public good. The resolution was then unanimously adopted and the meeting adjourned.

¹² There was at the moment such a bill before the House. It had been introduced after the failure to attach a "rider" to the postal appropriation bill in the Senate, which would have withheld compensation from all civil officers appointed during a recess of the Senate until such appointments had been confirmed.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Der Wirtschaftende Mensch in der Geschichte: Gesammelte Reden und Aufsätze. Von LUJO BRENTANO. (Leipzig: Felix Meiner. 1923. Pp. 498. Unbound, 8.50 M.; bound, 10 M.)

THIS volume brings together a number of essays and addresses written for the most part between the years 1901 and 1913. An inaugural lecture of 1888 and an essay written in 1920 complete the volume. Despite the period of time involved, the papers possess a close unity of purpose and of doctrine, embodying the final judgment of the author on the primary problems of interpretation raised by the German historical schools. We find here critical discussions of the relation of rationalistic gain-seeking to aristocratic ideals of leisure and ecclesiastical concepts of otherworldliness; an analysis of the origins, significance, and scope of mercantilism; extended critical discussion of the nature and the genesis of modern capitalism and its relation to the systems of Protestant ethics. The views adopted possess the notable merit of being consistent with the known historical facts. This volume constitutes the most significant and most permanent single historical contribution by any member of the German historical schools.

Brentano takes the position that rationalistic gain-seeking was an essentially natural attitude towards material activities and that tendencies of such a character are to be found in all periods of history, at least among certain classes of society. The purely economic motives, however, are obscured in antiquity and in the Middle Ages by philosophies and systems of ethics that are directed towards other ends. Furthermore, distinctions must be drawn between the motives entertained by the individual or the family and the motives actuating the groups or associations whose activities were, in early periods, of outstanding economic importance. The monastic house would thus order its material affairs upon a basis of rationalistic gain-seeking though the ideals and duties imposed upon its members looked towards purely spiritual ends.

Capitalism is defined as a form of social organization based upon freedom of contract and the pursuit of gain. It appears in antiquity, persists in the Near East throughout the early Christian period, and becomes prominent once more in the West when the Italian commercial towns assume the leading rôle as the carriers between northwestern Europe and the Near East. Brentano successfully challenges the validity of the excessively narrow concept of capitalism put forward by socialistic writers from Marx to Sombart. Sombart's work is criticized in detail.

The development of "mercantilism" is associated with the rise of the realistic philosophies of the state and the emergence of concepts of con-

structive statecraft. Brentano points out that the excesses and errors were due to the failure to appreciate the nature and the extent of the limitations to the activity of the statesman. The more gifted leaders, however, such as Cromwell, appreciated even these limitations more adequately than has commonly been supposed.

Brentano holds that Protestant ethics contributed to the diffusion of capitalism and raised its moral tone, but he does not accept Weber's thesis that these elements of stimulus were essential. The emphasis on the moral value of work was not new, and there is much discussion in earlier Christian literature of the notion of an obligation to accept one's appointed vocation. Protestantism completed a development that had already made notable progress, but it was neither a cause, nor in that precise form an indispensable condition. ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

Four Thousand Years of Pharmacy: an Outline History of Pharmacy and the Allied Sciences. By CHARLES H. LAWALL, Ph.M., Phar.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.A., Professor of Theory and Practice of Pharmacy and Dean of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1927. Pp. xv, 665. \$5.00.)

If our civilization is in danger of being mechanized because of the great gain made by science and its applications to our every-day life, pharmacy is in particular danger of commercialization. The people may care very little whether the commercial drug store goes into bankruptcy or is absorbed by a "chain". For the good of the public, it is necessary to have dispensaries of one kind or another in which the sick may be served. The modern drug store with its soda fountain and lunch counter is but an ugly excrescence of the commercialization from which we are suffering. The sooner it disappears the better, for the public and for pharmacy itself.

An outspokenly commercial pharmaceutical journal has referred to the present as the darkest hour in American pharmacy and has compared it with Washington's winter quarters in Valley Forge. The fact that the editor of such a journal recognizes the situation into which commercialization has brought American pharmacy is a good omen in itself. What is the remedy? No doubt, our friend the commercial editor will point to more commercialization. The careful observer, however, who has watched the development of American pharmacy during a lifetime, realizes that we have come to a parting of the ways between the "drugless drug store" and professional pharmacy. In the fate of the former the public has but little interest though it may find it convenient. Professional pharmacy, however, is of greatest importance to the public.

If we have been wandering in the wilderness for the past forty years, it will take equally long if not longer to settle down to professional habits. Legislation may do much, but crossing the border into the promised land alone is not going to bring the pharmaceutical millennium. A new gen-

eration of pharmacists has to spring up, men and women who have received a thorough scientific education, but also men and women who have had at college something more than the fundamental sciences. Their scientific studies must be humanized.

This can be done in various ways. One of the most obvious, and one of the easiest, is to teach the history of pharmacy. Fortunately there has been an awakening of interest in the history of pharmacy as in the history of science in general. In 1902 the American Pharmaceutical Association established an historical section. Before the World War, French pharmacists organized the Société d'Histoire de la Pharmacie and only a year ago the Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Pharmacie was founded.

All of these organizations, and many others, are doing excellent work. We even have treatises that style themselves histories of pharmacy, but much detail work will have to be done before a real history of pharmacy can be written. Desirable as such a treatise would be, our greatest present need lies in a different direction. First of all the pharmacist himself must be roused to take an interest in the evolution of his calling. Possibly not a single factor will do more to drag him out of the present commercial slough and cause him to strive for a higher professional plane. The history of pharmacy is replete with inspiration for its disciples, old as well as young. In addition, popular treatises such as LaWall's may cause the reading public to become interested in a calling that touches mankind at more points than possibly any other.

Though not a history of pharmacy, the *Four Thousand Years of Pharmacy* may, therefore, accomplish a twofold mission. It is being read by old and young within the ranks of pharmacy and is causing the members of this calling to reflect whither they are drifting. Its popular style is causing it to be read by many in no way connected with pharmacy. By revealing to the intelligent public what pharmacy has been in the past and the important rôle it has played in human society, it not only creates an interest in a much neglected chapter of the history of civilization, but it may even bring about direct practical results in causing people to think about the pharmacy, not as a down-town rendezvous or a social centre for the residential neighborhood, but as a hygienic institute that should play an important rôle in the life of all.

EDWARD KREMERS.

Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord. Par STÉPHANE GSELL, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France. Tome V., *Les Royaumes Indigènes: Organisation Sociale, Politique, et Économique*; tome VI., *Les Royaumes Indigènes: Vie Matérielle, Intellectuelle, et Morale.* (Paris: Hachette. 1927. Pp. 297, 302. 45 fr. each.)

THE first volume of this work was published in 1913. The author, at that time, promised five other volumes which would carry the account

to the Mohammedan invasion. The two sections under review bring us only to 146 B. C., while volumes VII. and VIII., as announced, will forward the story by but one century, that is, to the dissolution of the native kingdoms by Rome. This difference between promise and performance is in part the result of the author's evaluation of published material devoted to the antiquities of Northern Africa, much of it dated after 1913. But the very nature of M. Gsell's present subject retards his progress. For the shift of emphasis from invader to native leads him back over the centuries traversed in the earlier volumes.

The anthropologist and the student of colonial administration will welcome this admirable description of a backward people more than the historian. The number of repeated facts is in truth very great—over six hundred references appear to volumes I.-IV. The author's interpretation, moreover, has not greatly changed. Nor are the subjects of M. Gsell's study of great importance to the student of history. The author admits that they have made no contribution to art, religion, science, or government.

The story of the Berbers, *barbari* in every sense of the word, is one of remarkably slow development. To explain this inertia the author insists upon geographic control with much of the fervor of a confirmed determinist. The extreme length and narrowness of the country as a whole, the well-marked limits of its parts, the absence of navigable streams and of other easy lines of intercommunication, the niggardly and uncertain rainfall, and the intensity of the sun's rays are held accountable for political instability, economic stagnation, and moral weakness. One may regret the power of sun and sand. To deny the power would be futile. The historian can but state the problem and leave the solution to the administrator.

The admiration expressed by reviewers for the method and style of M. Gsell in his earlier volumes applies here with equal force. There is indeed so much monotony and so little information in the Berber record that the author's clear presentation is a real triumph. The introduction sets forth the limits of the subject, and proceeds with a description of the sources, a total so incomplete that the author concludes with a prediction that his work "*sera pleine de lacunes, d'obscurités, de doutes*".

The three chapters on social and political organization which begin the body of the work are based on survivals rather than on the scattered comments of untrained classical observers. This method of reconstruction M. Gsell uses with great care and justifies, without fear of contradiction or criticism, on the basis of Berber conservatism. It is certain that the race is noted for its resistance to foreign influence and for its dislike of innovation from within.

The evidences of cultural obstinacy are implied, if not actually stated, on almost every page. The argument is most emphatically stated in the chapter (tome VI., liv. II., cap. III.) on life in the country and in the cities. In the crudely made and rudely decorated pottery of the Berber

housewife, and in the primitive rites and beliefs of her husband and master there linger processes of hand and mind which are prehistoric. Only in the cities may one find traces of the hated foreign influence. Invading languages have succeeded in bridging the gap between town and country, but only after the language has ceased to be official. M. Gsell notes that Libyan was the rural tongue up to the time of the Roman conquest, but that Punic, supported by the Roman Peace, found its way to the countryside just as Arabic, supported by the French Peace, has finally reached the rural districts.

Economic life, the daily round of business and pleasure, religious beliefs and practices, and methods of sepulture are the subjects treated in the remaining chapters. From the multitude of details one might choose a score illustrating the author's care, his sanity, and his freedom from error. There are presumably imperfections in this human document, but the writer has found only one point in which the author was not wholly convincing, namely in the varying weight which M. Gsell gives to the same kind of evidence in different places. The difficulty lies in the following passages. The use of native words for the parts of a plow, and of Latin words for the parts of harness "supports the conclusion" that the plow was not a Phoenician innovation, and that it was only under Roman tutelage that the Berbers learned to use it most effectively (V. 196). The native origin of the word for wild olive and the Phoenician origin of the word for the cultivated plant "permits one to believe" that olericulture was the gift of the Phoenicians (V. 201). But, even if it be admitted that the word *mapalia* is Phoenician, "there is no reason to believe" that the thing is also Phoenician (V. 220).

Few writers have received and fewer have deserved the full measure of praise awarded rightly to M. Gsell for his scholarship. But it is not to scholars that the author addresses his concluding paragraphs. Does it not add to the merit of this work that its message breaks through the narrow circle of fellow professionals and challenges the attention of the laymen whose business it is to administer and to govern a colonial possession?

"Mais voudra-t-elle [la nation conquérante] et pourra-t-elle briser à jamais les forces de barbarie qui s'obstineront à survivre, en arrière et auprès des régions où s'implantera la civilisation? Il ne suffira pas de les tenir en respect. Elles n'attendent que des occasions pour se jeter à l'assaut et, tôt ou tard, elles les trouveront. La conquête morale du pays tout entier s'imposera donc d'une manière aussi nécessaire que la conquête matérielle. Malheur aux maîtres de l'Afrique du Nord qui ne sauront pas le comprendre!"

J. J. VAN NOSTRAND.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The See of Peter. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of History in Columbia University, and LOUISE ROPES LOOMIS, Ph.D., Professor of History in Wells College. [Records of Civilization.] (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927. Pp. xxvi, 737. \$10.00.)

WHEN the World War prevented Professor James T. Shotwell from completing a collection of texts with brief comments to illustrate the history of the papacy to the time of Gregory VII., the task was taken over by Professor Louise Loomis and the scale of the project was altered. By limitation of the survey to the first four centuries it was found possible to provide an array of documents almost complete and to enrich them with such ample historical elucidation and editorial annotation that in the result we have not only the historian's apparatus of material but an historical treatise as well. In comparison with this, Mirbt's *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums*, which was necessarily fragmentary in citation of documents and without commentary, retains only the superiority of texts in the original Greek and Latin. The historical student will rejoice in the possession of this work which so abbreviates his time and toil and guides his scrutiny of the material by so careful a discussion of the historical process involved and by such valuable references to the vast literature relating to it. The student will have abundant reason for an attitude of deference to the great erudition of these editors, their careful and discriminating thought, and in general the precision of their statements.

The excellent plan of this work gives a certain classification of the materials. The first part exhibits the Petrine tradition in three forms: in New Testament texts, in the deposit of tradition accepted by the leading Fathers, and in the legendary form associated with the story of Simon Magus. The chronological order is then resumed to show the history of the Roman See in its exceptional relation to other bishoprics and its growing claims to power. The third part is a richly documented presentation of the great prestige of the Roman See in the conflicts of the fourth century, a prestige so great that the editors give as title to this part: "The Supreme Bishopric of the Universal Church."

The scholars to whom we owe this important work are of such repute that it would be presumption to offer proof of their merit in this instance. Every reader will recognize an intimate and detailed comprehension of very complicated matters, a deftness of exposition, and an agreeable literary form. A reviewer may be allowed to limit his presumption to a profession of dissent in regard to certain particulars. It would seem, for example, that the reasons for doubting the present Greek text of Matthew xxviii: 19 are here (p. 28) inaccurately stated. Its baptismal formula certainly is found in second-century Latin texts, but apparently did not belong to the Greek texts used by Eusebius. The inference,

therefore, is that in the Greek it is a post-Nicene interpolation. Again, the statement (p. 74) that "unfortunately Eusebius does not give Papias' own words" concerning the gospel of Mark is made in forgetfulness of Eusebius III. 39. 15. It is doubtful moreover if *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν* (p. 75) can be forced to mean the death of Peter and Paul on the same day. In general it may be objected that the undeniable eminence of the Roman See has led at times to some overstress in statement. Although Aurelian left the decision as to church property in Antioch to the bishops of Italy and of the city of Rome, our editors speak of Felix as sole arbitrator (pp. 215, 224). To say also that Irenaeus "does not challenge Victor's right to insist upon conformity to Roman usage" (p. 222) is going somewhat too far. The usage in question was not simply Roman but general save in Asia Minor and the insistence on conformity came from synods in Palestine, Pontus, and Gaul as well as from the Roman synod for which Victor spoke. Victor's excommunication of the resistant bishops of Asia was sharply rebuked by those who had joined him in the demand for uniformity of usage. Roman right should be stated more mildly. Without arguing a preference for Harnack's exegesis of the famous passage in Irenaeus III. 3 concerning Roman tradition to the translation and comment here given (p. 267), we may more sharply protest that in Canon III. of the Council of Constantinople in 381 *τὰ πρῶτα τῆς τριῆς* must not be called an acknowledgment of the primacy of Rome, unless the primacy is like that of the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps. Nor will we all agree that the Canons of Sardica confirmed the appellate jurisdiction of Rome (p. 499). Canons III. and X. by their wording mean not an acknowledgment of Roman right but a privilege for Bishop Julius in a special case. In carrying out the commission Julius stressed the fact that he was in concert with all the bishops of Italy (p. 512) and he complains (p. 515) of the failure to consult all bishops for the sentencing of supposedly guilty bishops. It is to be feared, indeed, that the popes would prefer our editors to the reviewer, for when it is said that "an imperial decree confirmed to Damasus the appellate jurisdiction over the entire episcopate" (p. 596) the reviewer can only find a jurisdiction in the prefecture of Italy (p. 669), and he can not believe that the edict of 380 (pp. 597, 675) made Damasus the dogmatic authority for the world. That adroit decree says that the law for all is to follow the tradition of truth delivered by St. Peter to the Romans and followed conspicuously by Damasus and Peter of Alexandria, "a man of apostolic sanctity". The authority is apostolic and gospel truth and in its accurate statement the Alexandrian bishop is on a level with Damasus. In general, then, the editorial statements occasionally need modification and the discussion might have profited by a consideration of Dr. Joseph C. Ayer's masterly contribution to the *Papers of the American Society of Church History* (vol. VIII., old series, 1897) on "The Development of the Appellate Jurisdiction of the Roman See".

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

Osebergfundet. Utgit av den Norske Stat under redaktion av A. W. BRÖGGER, HJ. FALK, HAAKON SCHETELIG. With a summary in English. Bind I., av A. W. BRÖGGER, W. C. BRÖGGER, JENS HOLMBOE, HAAKON SCHETELIG. Bind III., av HAAKON SCHETELIG. (Kristiania: Universitetets Oldsaksamling. 1917, 1920. Pp. xii, 413, 27 plates; viii, 439. 100 kr. a volume, bound.)

IN August, 1903, the owner of Oseberg, a farm in Vestfold in southern Norway, came in to Kristiania to tell Professor Gustafson of some wooden remains that he had found in a mound on his estate. The following summer systematic excavation was begun and the famous Oseberg ship and its contents were uncovered with pious care and with every precaution known to science. The find, dating from about 800 A. D., is now housed in Oslo, and a corps of archaeologists have devoted their time and expert attention to its scientific study. The two immense volumes—they weigh 12 pounds each—here listed are the first fruits of this investigation. If these are a fair sample, the five-volume work now projected will be a truly definitive edition, a model of sumptuous presentation and exhaustive scholarship. Volume I. tells the history of the discovery, and gives detailed topographical, geological, botanical, as well as archaeological studies of the terrain and the mound itself. Professor Schetelig (pp. 283–364) describes the ship with reference to construction and its relation to ship-building of the Viking Age and earlier. This craft, about twenty-one metres in length and five at its greatest breadth, was the burial-place of a queen of the Yngling dynasty, and with the remains of the queen and woman servant were found a wagon, four sledges, beds, chairs, ornaments, and many articles used in and about a house of the early ninth century. Volume III. is devoted mainly to an analysis of the art of the "Vestfold School" as revealed in the remarkable series of ornamental carvings found on the ship and furniture. There are twelve or fifteen square metres of carved surface, all told. The earlier finds at Gokstad and Borre illustrate a later period of Viking—and Yngling—history, the last part of the ninth century. These have been studied by archaeologists like Sophus Müller of Copenhagen and Bernhard Salin of Stockholm. Müller¹ noted the native character and originality of the style, while Salin² showed the connection between the Carolingian motif (lions and Christian symbols) and its development. Both were convinced of the appearance of a new style in the North, but evidence showing how this style developed, what its relation was to foreign motifs, and what it owed to native forms, was lacking until a careful study of the Oseberg find revealed it. The plastic lions' heads are a Carolingian motif brought into Norway partly by coins and partly by

¹ Sophus Müller, "Dyreornamentiken i Norden" in *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (Copenhagen, 1880).

² Bernhard Salin, *Die Altgermanische Thierornamentik* (Stockholm, 1904).

Viking raids. T. J. Arne³ had already shown clearly that Russia and Byzantium could have made no appreciable direct impact upon Northern art in the eighth or ninth centuries. Whatever indirect influence there may have been, Schetelig concludes, came by way of Western or Carolingian Europe. Taking a cue from Müller, he coins the name "Scandinavian-Carolingian" to apply to the style of the leading Vestfold artists, whether it is the conservative "academic master" or the progressive "baroque master" who designed and executed the carvings of Oseberg. The native Northern precursors of the Vestfold School were, it appears, the creative artists of the Vendel School, so named from the place in Sweden where numerous interesting remains from the seventh and eighth centuries have been found. The Vendel artists worked out their designs on a plane surface. The Scandinavian-Carolingian "style group" took these lions' heads and Christian symbols and transformed them into animal ornamentations, plastic and full of movement. The study of the Oseberg ship and its contents by Norwegian scholars is clearing up hitherto vexing problems in the early history of the Viking Age, for which historical scholars may properly be grateful. The present work is richly illustrated with plates, half-tones, and drawings. These must be seen to appreciate the author's deduction that the "baroque master" who carved the sledge-pole and other objects appears to have made the Vestfold School a leader in the North, and to have become an important contributor towards "the first blossoming of the Viking Style in the ninth century". The English summaries are excellent.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

The Crusades and other Historical Essays, presented to Dana C. Munro by his Former Students. Edited by LOUIS J. PAETOW. (New York: F. S. Crofts. 1928. Pp. x, 419. \$5.00.)

THIS volume of essays, planned by a committee of Professor Munro's former students, was presented to him on the occasion of his presidency of the American Historical Association in 1926. Services to historical study so generally recognized as those of Professor Munro are most fittingly commemorated by those whose obligations are deepest. Admirably edited by Professor Louis J. Paetow, the work achieves the ideal of a *Festschrift* in bringing together a group of essays the majority of which lie within the field of the scholar to whom they are presented. The addition of several essays of a more varied character attests the breadth of his interests and scholarly associations. It is gratifying to friends and former students alike that this well-deserved tribute to a great scholar and teacher should reflect so fully his influence and inspiration. A remarkable feature of the first part of the volume is that so many essays dealing with the crusades could be selected and arranged with due attention to unity of design and variety of emphasis.

³ T. J. Arne, "Sveriges Förbindelser med Östern under Vikingatiden" in *Fornvännen*, 1911; "La Suède et l'Orient" in *Archives d'Études Orientales*, vol. VIII. (Uppsala, 1914).

The period just preceding the preaching of the First Crusade is represented by Professor Einar Joranson's study of the great German pilgrimage of 1064-1065. He offers some interesting evidence in refutation of the view that the coming of the Seljuk Turks and their persecutions of the Christian pilgrims were chiefly responsible for stirring the popular indignation in Europe, showing, on the contrary, that already in 1064 the necessity for the warrior pilgrim had arisen. A suggestive essay by Professor Frederic Duncalf carries us forward to the First Crusade with the thesis that Pope Urban II. had a definite plan for carrying out the crusade and so far succeeded in impressing the leaders with his instructions that they hesitated to deviate from them.

Two interesting studies of the sources are offered by Professors August C. Krey and André Alden Beaumont, jr. The former deals with a baffling passage in the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* and has to do with the alleged promise of the Emperor to Bohemond whereby Antioch and the territory fifteen days' journey long and eight days' journey wide was to be bestowed upon the latter. Pointing out that Ekkehard of Aura in his *Hierosolymita* makes no reference to this secret grant, although his source, as Hagenmeyer has shown, was undoubtedly the *Gesta Francorum*, Professor Krey suggests that the secret-grant clause was an interpolation in the copies later used by Baldric of Dol, Guibert of Nogent, Robert of Rheims, and Tudebode of Civray, "modified to suit the needs of Bohemond's campaign for recruits in France late in 1105 and early in 1106". The chronicle of Albert of Aachen, always the subject of controversy, and employed with caution by historians, is more kindly treated by Professor Beaumont, who examines his information concerning the county of Edessa in comparison with all other sources. While tending to confirm the judgments as to Albert's habitual inaccuracies as to dates, numbers, etc., this study places him in a more favorable light as a chronicler.

Something of the idealism of the crusaders is restored in a treatment of Robert II. of Flanders by Mr. M. M. Knappen. A review of Robert's career from his entry into the crusades to the end, with his numerous acts of piety and chivalry, leads to the conclusion that "his sword was ever drawn in an honorable and altruistic cause".

Professor Eugene H. Byrne, who has previously contributed to the study of Genoese trade with Syria (*American Historical Review*, January, 1920), offers here a continuation of his earlier studies in an essay on the Genoese colonies in Syria. He emphasizes especially the series of experiments in colonial administration "reflecting the evolutionary process through which the commune itself had passed". Treating first the rise to power and development of the control in Syria of the dominant family of Embriachi, he analyzes the administrative system which took form under them with their use of agents in the conduct of the administration as this practice is illustrated in their dealings with Cacciabove and Otto Judex de Castello. The flourishing colonial life from 1190-1291 demanded a more vigorous administration under the *consules* and *vice-*

comites whose manifold duties are adequately described. Finally the coming of the *podestà* on the eve of the collapse of the Christian power in Syria, illustrated in the career of Benedetto Zaccaria, witnesses the close of the series of administrative experiments.

The two concluding essays of part I. offer an interesting contrast to the others as character studies. Professor Milton R. Gutsch gives an intimate and vivid account of the crusading preacher, Fulk of Neuilly, whose career from 1195 to 1202 reflects much of the religious zeal, the credulity, and moral point of view of the closing years of the twelfth century. Professor Paetow writes of the "crusading ardor" of John of Garland, basing his study of this little known character upon his *De Triumphis Ecclesiae* with its wealth of contemporary evidence respecting the period of 1189 to 1252. His chief interest is in employing this work "as a mirror reflecting the mental attitude of an intelligent observer" of the events of this period.

The first of the essays in part II. is a study by Professor James F. Willard of an exchequer reform under Edward I., dealing especially with the changes taking place during the administration of William de Marchia as treasurer of the exchequer between 1290-1295.

Two essays by Professors Bernadotte E. Schmitt and William E. Lingelbach respectively represent the field of diplomatic history. The former writes of Lord Haldane's mission to Berlin in 1912. His detailed study, based upon the published versions of each of the participants in the negotiations, serves to explain the causes of failure and at the same time the differences between the German and British positions. Professor Lingelbach deals with the sources of diplomatic history, emphasizing the changes with regard to both the use of sources and the control of foreign policy since the Treaty of Versailles.

It is appropriate that the concluding essay should lie within the field of American history, and that it should be the work of Mr. Herbert A. Kellar whose personal efforts contributed so much to the making of this volume. His essay is an intimate and comprehensive investigation of ante-bellum society as it was to be studied in Rockbridge County, Virginia, in 1835.

The work is fittingly closed by an impressive list of Professor Munro's writings from 1894 to 1926 compiled by Mrs. Marion Peabody West.

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Third, Michaelmas, 1230. Edited by CHALFANT ROBINSON, Ph.D., Curator of Medieval History, Princeton University. [Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, vol. XLII. (n. s., vol. IV.).] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1927. Pp. xxxii, 472. \$10.00.)

THE chief distinctive features of the present roll are associated with the expedition which Henry III. led against France in 1230. Expendi-

tures were made for carrying quarrels for the crossbows, lead, hurdles for siege operations, and other supplies to the port of embarkation; for building gang-planks; for the purchase of materials to construct a tent eighty feet long for the king to use as an audience chamber; and for other interesting items (pp. xxvi, 184, 185, 200, 202). Several sheriffs and debtors of the king delivered sums at Portsmouth to the wardrobe (p. 223), which on this occasion for the first time transacted the financial business of the king on a foreign campaign. A significant portion of the receipts was derived from revenues levied for the purpose of financing the war.

Among the exceptional revenues scutages bulk the largest. The entries deal not only with the current scutage of Brittany but also with the famous scutage of Poitou imposed by John in 1214, "the king's first scutage" (1217), and the scutages of Bytham (1221), Montgomery (1223), Bedford (1224), and Kerry (1228). They make the roll one of the most informative with regard to scutage which has yet been edited. Much space is given to a tallage ordered in 1227, and several items relate to the arrears of earlier carucages. Mention is made of a tallage of 8000 marks upon the Jews (p. 222), but the account is not entered in the roll.

The classes of revenues received annually are the same in kind as those found in previous rolls, though they display infinite variation in detail. The records of the thriving fiscal business transacted by the courts shed much light on judicial procedure. Privileges were sold by the king in increased variety. Individual subjects bought his favor, the remission of his anger, liberation from prison, the confirmation of liberties (pp. xvi, 134), and many other things. Several persons paid to have private charters conveyancing lands recorded in the pipe roll (pp. 133, 140, 328). The prices paid for such privileges were often high, though few assumed such a burden as the debtor who owed 10,000 marks for having his father's lands (p. 225). The carrying over of this debt and hundreds of smaller ones from the reign of John indicates that the exchequer had not been efficient during Henry's minority. A substantial income came from leases of royal rights and properties. They included the *firma comitatus*, which displays a comparatively recent increase in most counties (p. x), the *firma burgi*, and the farms of vills, manors, virgates, mines, and cows (pp. 6, 111, 119, 140, 181, 302). Feudal incidents, the forests, regalian rights, the mints, lastage, and other miscellaneous sources of income helped to increase the size of a roll which is longer by approximately one third than the average roll of the closing years of the reign of Henry II.

While the roll is important primarily for financial history, it will reward searchers with significant details of information about many aspects of contemporary life. Prices, markets, transportation, occupations, guilds, the Jews, feudal tenures, administrative practices, and the functions of royal officials are random illustrations chosen from a long list.

The work of the editor appears to have been done with the accuracy and skill which we are accustomed to associate with the publications of the Pipe Roll Society. The notation of many variants found in the chancellor's roll renders the text more intelligible, particularly with regard to proper names. An adequate introduction reviews the salient characteristics of the roll. The index of persons and places identifies the majority of place-names and constitutes a notable improvement upon the indexes of the volumes in the first series. The same can not be said of the index of things. Like its predecessors it provides for investigators an inadequate guide to the wealth of material concealed in the roll.

W. E. LUNT.

The English-German Nation in the University of Paris during the Middle Ages. By GRAY COWAN BOYCE, Ph.D., Princeton University. (Bruges: St. Catherine Press. 1927. Pp. 232.)

THIS book well carries out its purpose "to portray the corporative life and activity of one of the four nations at the University of Paris during the Middle Ages". It is mainly based on a study of the *Liber Procuratorum Nationis Anglicanae (Alemanniae)*—a note-book kept by the procurators of this important association of university teachers during the period from 1333 to 1494. This has already been published for the period up to 1452 by Denifle and Chatelain in their *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis* (2 volumes, Paris, 1894-1897), but Dr. Boyce has also made competent use of the unpublished manuscript records from 1452 to 1494, and of other source-material.

Such a study is particularly valuable, both directly, because of the light it throws on medieval university organization, and indirectly, because of the influence of this feature of academic self-government on the reforming councils of the Church and on modern systems of political government.

The book gives a clear picture of the activities and interests of the nation whose members came from the British Isles and from Northern and Eastern Europe (p. 28), and who had received the M.A. but no higher degree. Their meetings were generally held in the convent of the Mathurins or some other building with religious associations in the Latin quarter. Sunday after mass was a favorite time for the regular "congregations" when officers were elected, statutes made, pleas of masters on their own behalf or that of their students heard, and other business attended to. A majority of the masters present decided every question, but an appeal could be taken from the decision of the nation to a "University Congregation". The nation was presided over by an elected proctor—always a regent master at least twenty-one years of age—just as the faculty of arts was presided over by a rector. The proctor called meetings, kept the records, the seal, and *archae* of the nation, and swore in all members as well as those students who were candidates for degrees under the nation's jurisdiction.

The connection of the nation with the various steps in the granting of degrees by the university, and with its "schools" of the Rue de Fouarre where instruction was given to arts students, as well as its feasts, celebrations, offices, and finances, are all well described.

Among interesting facts brought clearly for the first time to the attention of all but highly specialized students, or given new emphasis, are the following: that although the name of the nation appears as *Alemannia* in August 1400, it was not until 1442-1443 that it was customarily so employed in place of the earlier title *Anglicana* (p. 30); that in spite of the Hundred Years' War some English masters were almost always found in Paris during its continuance (p. 31); that the number of members of the nation varied at different times from one to over twenty (p. 37); that the tendency to call the nonregent masters to the meetings developed during the later fourteenth century (p. 37, n. 1); and that the nation's *nuntii* were not only messengers but at times diplomatic representatives with important duties (pp. 70, 71). The documents reproduced from the university archives showing the exact property of the nation in 1425 and 1442 are specially valuable (appendixes IV. and VI.).

The book is well documented, has three interesting illustrations from the *Liber Proctorum*, and is provided with a useful bibliography and an index. The only criticism that the present reviewer would make—aside from the absence of shelf-title—is that the proof-reading has been very careless. In addition to the fifteen errors mentioned in the *Errata* nearly the same number of others has been found, including "thanks is" (p. 9), "ommissions" (p. 20), "congregations" (p. 22), "*Glossiarum*" (p. 41), "perequisite" (p. 75), and similar mistakes on pages 122, 139, 191, 217, and 222. Such errors in books printed in a foreign country are not uncommon but they are none the less regrettable.

ANSON PHELPS STOKES.

Le Socialisme d'État: l'Industrie et les Classes Industrielles en France pendant les Deux Premiers Siècles de l'Ère Moderne, 1453-1661. Par P. BOISSONNADE, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Poitiers. (Paris: Champion. 1927. Pp. 380. 60 fr.)

ACCORDING to the author, "this book, the fruit of thirty-five years of research, is only an important part of a more detailed history of industry and the industrial classes yet to be written". Let us hope that the excellent pioneer work of Professor Boissonnade may pave the way not only for this much needed contribution but also for other monographs on a hitherto neglected subject—an economic study of French absolutism. As is generally known, the political phase of absolutism has been well treated. But when Professor Boissonnade calls our attention to the fact that, following the Hundred Years' War, the rise of absolutism signified the centralization of economic power in the hands of the monarch, we realize that only half of the story has been written.

In this particular book the author has limited himself to the industrial phase of state-building. By tracing the development of industry and the industrial classes during the reigns of the Valois and Bourbon kings (1453-1661) he shows how the central government, attempting to increase the production of manufactured goods and thus make the state wealthy, adopted a policy which in certain respects resembled what is now called modern state socialism.

The book is divided into two parts. In part I. the author describes the development of industry during the administrations of the Valois rulers (1463-1589). It is interesting to know that these monarchs had economic ideas. In fact, they attempted to encourage industry by granting monopolies, giving subsidies, and regulating everyone connected with this activity, including workers. The Valois rulers made, however, but a feeble beginning. While they appreciated the importance of industries in state-building, religious wars, inefficient ministers, and other hindrances prevented them from accomplishing much along this line.

In part II. the author describes the industrial development of France during the administrations of the Bourbon kings (1589-1661). He pays special attention to the economic measures instituted by Henry IV., Sully, Richelieu, and Mazarin. Furthermore, he shows how certain contemporary French economists, as, for example, Laffemas and Montchrestien, outlined in their writings the economic policy of state-building which these seventeenth-century statesmen put into execution.

Not that the general economic programme of the Bourbon administrators was essentially different from that of the Valois kings. Like them, Henry IV., Sully, and Richelieu encouraged the development of industry through monopolies, subsidies, and regulations. But their efforts to increase the economic power of the state by means of industrial development were better organized and more extensive than those of their predecessors. Consequently, they established the foundation of the majestic mercantilist state which Colbert completed.

It is indeed interesting to note that a study of industrial development in France proves that mercantilism, like absolutism, was the result of a slow growth. They parallel and, more than that, supplement each other. In other words, the statesmen of that period were something more than politicians. They were interested also in economic matters. According to Professor Boissonnade, Cardinal Richelieu, for example, played an important part in the industrial and commercial growth of France. Thus the author accepts a conclusion brought out in detail several years ago in an American monograph on *Richelieu's Economic Policies*. Through an oversight, perhaps, Professor Boissonnade has neglected to mention in his bibliography this and other English and American works on the subject.

Scholars who plan to work in this field will do well to study not merely the author's conclusions, but also the extensive list of sources in his bibliography (pp. 310-374). The materials are well classified. Unfortun-

nately the titles are run together in solid paragraphs, making it difficult for a reader to distinguish one title from another.

A few defects mar what otherwise is a scholarly work. For example, it lacks an index, and citations in foot-notes. The author tells us that the "high cost of printing" forced him to omit the latter. This is indeed unfortunate, for the incomplete lists of books given at the beginning of each chapter are a poor substitute.

FRANKLIN CHARLES PALM.

Economic History of Europe. By MELVIN M. KNIGHT, Ph.D., HARRY ELMER BARNES, Ph.D., Professor of Historical Sociology in Smith College, and FELIX FLUGEL, Associate Professor of Economics in the University of California. Volume II., *In Modern Times*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. xii, 257-808. \$3.75.)

OF this volume, to which Dr. Knight's smaller one was a kind of introduction, the authorship is perplexingly composite. The editor, Professor Young, says that a first draft has been subjected to careful revision, "a task intrusted to Dr. Knight who also contributed several of the chapters". Yet he himself accepts a full share of responsibility for the general character of the changes made. One gathers that it is Professor Barnes and Professor Flugel who have been subjected to revision. The heterogeneous authorship is reflected in the style, often one of the least lovely aspects of economic history. While many of the middle chapters are clearly and succinctly written, elsewhere there are such passages as "the Spanish system . . . gained a flexibility largely by being tempered, if not honey-combed, with corruption", or "those people with appetite for culture who have understandingly read good contemporary literature produced by the two earlier periods", or "this way of viewing the events concerned has done some good, for it has enticed people to look at them with some imagination, and even critical judgment, a little of either being better than none" (pp. 276, 377, 376).

The point of view professedly adopted in this as well as in the preceding volume is that business organization, being of most interest to the modern student of economics, can well be emphasized. The attitude is interesting and progressive, though, as it proves, a little difficult to maintain at length. The heart of the volume is the 265 pages which treat of agriculture and industry in England, France, and Germany from about 1750 to recent times; and these, excellent in themselves, do not differ greatly from the conventional accounts. In contrast there are fewer than thirty pages on industrial and trade associations, no chapters whatever on finance, public or private, and only a few passing references to credit transactions. The thesis appears most clearly in the explanation that the industrial revolution was not primarily brought about by improved mechanical devices but by antecedent organization of labor and capital. While the former view, which the authors think antiquated, was

popularized by men who were contemporary with the initial stages of the factory system, it was Marx who first interpreted the industrial revolution as a phase in the rise of modern capitalism.

A second point of view emerges in the juxtaposition of industry and scientific agriculture to commerce. The industrial revolution is placed over against an earlier, and well-described, "commercial revolution" extending from about 1500 to 1750. Just as industry is briefly noticed in this period, so commerce after 1800 is relegated to a single chapter. To some students it might seem that industry and commerce should be less contrasted and incline to go hand in hand in their development. As soon as a country and its colonies develop large-scale production beyond the needs of its population (which of course may grow and absorb many of the new products), it necessarily seeks foreign markets and expands commercially. Such was the situation in England in the days of the so-called "commercial revolution". Her trade sought a market for an expanding industry, especially for the woollens and worsteds so extensively produced. One consequence of the authors' treatment is that in the last fifty years, when commerce is subordinated, the rivalry of England and Germany for world markets, perhaps one of the deeper causes of the war, is inadequately discussed. Incidentally, in another connection, the opinion is expressed that "German economic efficiency has been over-dramatized". Some Germans were superior but many were not; and the extension of credit to build up business in other countries before the war was precarious.

In view of the professed modernism of the book, post-war developments are treated more briefly than one would expect. There is no note of Mr. Lloyd George's ambitious land-nationalization policy and the accounts of unemployment insurance and the mining situation in Great Britain trail off into in consequence. The problems of present-day Russia under the N. E. P. are not clearly described—the retention of control over basic industries in which foreign capital must be utilized for a term of years, the replacement of worn-out industrial plants, and the degree to which official favor should be shown to agriculture or to industry. There is nothing at all about post-war Italy. In general, Italy and Russia are briefly treated; but, instead of criticizing this, the reader may well be grateful for the 70 pages on Southern and Eastern Europe, which form a kind of appendage to the fuller discussion of the three economic leaders of Western Europe.

In general the volume reminds one a little of the traditional barrel of English ale—somewhat permeated by theory at the beginning, somewhat thin at the end, but sound in the middle. Its exposition and its bibliographies will be very helpful and stimulating to beginning students of modern economic history.

H. L. GRAY.

Holländische Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Von ERNST BAASCH. [Handbuch der Wirtschaftsgeschichte, herausgegeben von Dr. GEORG BRODNITZ, Professor der Staatswissenschaften in Halle.] (Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1927. Pp. viii, 632. Unbound, 30 M.; bound, 32 M.)

THIS most recent volume in a useful series of *Handbücher* on the economic history of various countries is a brave, laborious undertaking carried to competent fulfilment. Professor Baasch, an authority on the history of the Hansa towns, had devoted much study, prior to the writing of this volume, to the economy of the Netherlands in its Hanseatic and German contacts, and had frequently sojourned in Holland, as his preface mentions, for research in the archives. His knowledge of the German literature of his subject is unrivalled, and his familiarity with the formidable mass of materials printed in Dutch is probably more extensive than that of any other *uitlander*. If there is reservation in this last acknowledgment, it is suggested by the omission from bibliographical mention of some collections of importance, as the correspondence of John de Witt, the resolutions of the States of Holland, and Aitzema's *Saken van Staet en Oorlogh*, all mines of information about economic conditions in the most brilliant period of the Republic. But strictures on this score seem overdrawn when one contemplates Professor Baasch's six hundred pages of facts in close formation, and his twenty-four pages of bibliography in fine print. To require the economic history of three centuries in more elaborate detail, or the intensive research becoming to the treatment of a subject of smaller dimensions, is to ask too much of a *handbuch* however generously planned. The reviewer is more dubious about Professor Baasch's summariness towards material in French and English. He has cited a slim dozen works in either language, relying chiefly on Levasseur's *Histoire du Commerce*, and on Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. On foundations so comparatively slight it is not possible to build with confidence, and the result is that the importance of Dutch trade with France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the multiple consequences of English competition in many fields of enterprise in the second half of the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth centuries, are but casually treated. The relations of the Republic with Spain and Portugal, except where colonies are concerned, receive even less attention. So much more constant and penetrating is the author's interest in the economic affiliations of the Netherlands with Germany that the reader at times derives the impression that the Republic, even in its heyday, was no better than a coastland gone wrong, because neglectful of its proper integration with its hinterland. There is a hint of this point of view in the *Rückblick* with which the work closes, when Professor Baasch observes (p. 587) that "die Niederlande als Besitzer der Rheinmündungen sich ihrer Pflichten gegen das mitteleuropäische Hinterland nicht immer bewusst gewesen sind, wodurch sie ihrem eigenen Wirtschaftsleben am

meisten schadeten". Perhaps. But the great historic rôle of the Republic was not to collect a middleman's profit on trade passing up and down the Rhine, but to play the part of a vast international agency for the exploitation of resources, and the carriage and marketing of commodities all over the world. The world—more truly than Germany—was the economic hinterland of the Dutch Republic.

But this overemphasis, as it seems to the reviewer, on the geographical relation to Germany, is offset by the admirable utility of the book as a whole. Not many historians have had the courage to work through that Slough of Despond which is Dutch economic history in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth; and this, as far as I am aware, is the only economic history of the Netherlands in any language which brings the story down to the present. Two-thirds of the book deal with the history of the Republic to the French invasion of 1795. This is divided into sections devoted severally to agriculture, the fisheries, industry, navigation, finance and taxation, capitalism, banking, exchange, insurance, the economic contribution of the Jews, trade and commercial policy, colonial economy in the era of the great companies. There follows a brief account of the period of French domination, and the final 150 pages treat the economic history of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, especially the new period of hope and achievement opening with the liberating reforms of the 'fifties and 'sixties of the nineteenth century, the time when the Dutchman was being weaned from "trekschuits" for inland communication, and sailing ships for seaways, to put his faith in railroads and steamships. Professor Baasch's valedictory (pp. 584-585), as he draws his survey of this long period to a close, will be of interest to all students of European economy: "Es hat auf allen wirtschaftlichen Gebieten mindestens einmal in dieser Zeit auf einer unerreichten Höhe gestanden. . . . Für jeden dieser Erwerbszweige hat das Land zeitweilig als Vorbild und Muster gedient; bis dann die anderen Völker es den Holländern abgesehen hatten und sie nun, kraft ihrer grösseren Macht und Energie, überflügelten."

VIOLET BARBOUR.

Luther and the Reformation. By JAMES MACKINNON, Ph.D., D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, University of Edinburgh. Volume II., *The Breach with Rome, 1517-1521.* (London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1928. Pp. xvii, 354. 16 s.)

THE Luther of the world of thought and religious experience revealed in the first volume of Professor Mackinnon's history becomes in this second volume the man of action, "the leader of an emancipation movement of superlative prospective significance in the political and intellectual as well as the religious sphere". The sincerity and the scholarship of the author are attested by his direct use of the sources. Perhaps too much

honor is given to the writings of German scholars—Kalkoff, Köstlin, Müller, Kolde, Brieger, Köhler, Paulus, Hausrath—in his repeated choosing between their yeas and nays. There are, however, two independent emphases in the work before us which would receive all praise had sufficient evidence been marshalled to guarantee their authenticity, one as to Luther, one as to the Reformation.

The first leading emphasis finds this expression: "The Reformation necessarily becomes an emancipation movement. Its watchword is 'Liberty' . . . *Liberi enim sumus ab omnibus* might be taken as the motto of the movement." Few will deny that Luther and the Reformation had large share in the development of modern liberty, but enthusiasm must not consume discrimination here. Luther's religious views, their implications, and the suggestion they contained to others having different aims, are not all of a piece, and the historian in declaring that Luther was led "to vindicate the sovereignty and independence of the national State against the papal claim to superiority over the State as well as the Church, to champion the rights of the individual reason and conscience and the principle of religious toleration", is not exactly squaring statement with Lutheran intention. The secular power is truly, for Luther, of divine institution; not only does he minimize its place and importance and limit its sphere of action, as Mackinnon elsewhere admits, but he reveals no conception of the state in the now current sense of a sovereign law-making authority. He would have disowned Machiavellian political theory, even though he may have cleared the way for its institutional realization.

The great man of the age, however, is Luther. "All the other actors on the stage of this world upheaval are mediocre figures compared with this Colossus whose genius and potent personality are laboriously shaping a new world out of the old." Well enough, if Professor Mackinnon had not robbed Peter to pay Paul. For, in particular, he gives scant space and credit to the humanists, who were of enormous import to Luther and Lutheranism in exactly these years. He does amazing injustice to Erasmus, ignoring Allen's magisterial edition of his contemporary letters and Preserved Smith's biography, wherefrom he could have learned that from 1516 to 1521 Erasmus's writings were the chief guide and authority of the Wittenberg professor, that his advice and support were of utmost weight with the Elector, that his *Axioms* boldly supported Luther's programme, that Erasmus pressed an arbitration plan on the agents of the Emperor. Further, Erasmus is misrepresented, in the interest of Lutheran hero-worship, as a craven, whose "courage would have oozed" before penning so radical a document as the *Babylonian Captivity*, and as lacking in intensity of religious conviction. If historians will not take Erasmus's words: "I try to keep neutral, so as to help the revival of learning as much as I can" (Allen, ep. 980) at face value, will they not consult the evidence of his life and works?

Attention to the theme of liberty demands close scrutiny of Luther's ideas on tolerance and the repression of heresy. Here, while giving just attention to the pertinent passages in the *Resolutions* on the 95 Theses, the author has neglected to mention that the *Appeal to the Christian Nobility* contains scathing words anent the burning of heretics (*W. A.*, VI. 455), that the *Sermon on Good Works* explicitly denies the secular sword function in matters of belief (*W. A.*, VI. 258-259), and that the *Assertio* of December, 1520, contains an important utterance condemning the burning of heretics.

ERNEST W. NELSON.

Sir John Hawkins, the Time and the Man. By JAMES A. WILLIAMSON. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1927. Pp. xii, 542. 20 s.)

SIR JOHN HAWKINS would probably rank next to Sir Francis Drake in the list of Elizabethan naval heroes. Yet we have had to wait long for an adequate biography of him. The task of writing one has happily fallen into good hands. Mr. Williamson is already favorably known to students of English seafarers through his useful essay on *Maritime Enterprise, 1485-1558* (1913), his *English in Guiana* (1923), and his *Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents* (1926). This biography is even above the level of his earlier work.

His contributions to the known facts about Sir John Hawkins and his father, "old" William Hawkins, are important and interesting. Some of them have been dug out of the Court of Admiralty records and relate to the activities of the Hawkins family in trade and privateering. Once again we are reminded what a rich store of unexploited material on English maritime affairs still lies buried in the Admiralty records. Mr. Williamson has also found and printed a valuable manuscript journal of Sir John Hawkins's third slaving voyage which culminated in the catastrophe of San Juan de Ulua. But perhaps his most important contribution has been to correct a prevalent false impression about the character of his hero and to place the more familiar facts about his life in their true perspective. We now know that Sir John was not the crude, unlettered sea-dog of Kingsley's drawing, but a gentleman of culture and refinement. We now know—what Mr. Oppenheim has already led us to suspect—that probably his chief claim to distinction lay in his reorganization and reconstruction of the Elizabethan navy. We know also that the rumors of his dishonesty in office were without any solid foundation.

Mr. Williamson's hardest problem has been to pass upon the merits of the points in controversy between Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake. He makes an honest effort to be scrupulously fair to Drake; but since he sees Drake as the inspired improviser and Hawkins as the careful planner and organizer, it is not surprising that when the two clash he gives the palm to the one whom he considers the longer-headed of the two. He is probably right in his contention that Drake was at fault for deserting Hawkins at San Juan de Ulua, but not so certainly right in charging

Drake with the failure of their last joint voyage in 1595. On the larger question, as to their respective contributions to Elizabethan naval strategy, he is evidently of the opinion that Drake has received much more credit than he deserves and Hawkins much less. In this book, and more recently elsewhere (*History*, XII. 310-321), he reveals a certain animus against Drake which is not altogether to be regretted in view of the universal adulation of him, but which must be allowed for in any final judgment.

Mr. Williamson implies, if he does not expressly state, that Burghley was Hawkins's best friend in the Privy Council, and consequently reveals Burghley as more favorably disposed to oversea adventures than the facts seem to warrant. But we still attend the final word on this, as on so many other aspects of Burghley's career. When that word is spoken it may well appear that Burghley's active interest in new and hazardous enterprises was confined to the period of his life before he attained his peerage—that is to say, before 1571.

Taking it as a whole this life of Hawkins is a fine scholarly piece of work and easily the most important contribution to Elizabethan maritime history that has appeared in the last decade.

CONYERS READ.

Das Friedenswerk der Kirche in den Letzten Drei Jahrhunderten: die Diplomatie des Vatikans im Dienste des Weltfriedens seit dem Kongress von Vervins, 1598. Von JOSEPH MÜLLER. Band I., *Die Friedensvermittlungen und Schiedssprüche des Vatikans bis zum Weltkriege, 1917.* (Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte. 1927. Pp. 483. 25 M.)

THIS volume of documentary material provides the basis for another volume of commentary and interpretation which is promised shortly by the publishers.

A dedicatory epistle to the King of Spain discusses the contributions of that country to international law and the significance of such figures as Victoria and Suarez. An introduction gives a résumé of the history of the popes in their work for peace throughout the ages, a limitation of the author's field to the last three centuries, and an interesting general discussion of the latter period.

The documents presented are nearly two hundred in number. They are well arranged under twenty-seven headings, and well printed, though the proof-reading might have been better done. They shed interesting light on such transactions as the treaties of Westphalia, Ryswick, and Utrecht, the papal diplomatic relations during the Napoleonic period, the papal efforts in the direction of peace during the World War, etc.

We can not consider that Dr. Müller's work is a definitive contribution to his great subject, although he might conceivably make it such in a future edition.

In the first place his documents are not exclusively chosen to illustrate his subject. He has in the introduction declared that peace arrangements in which the popes were interested parties are out of his "cadre". Yet in a somewhat large number of the documents reference is to the efforts of the papal representatives to cover in the negotiations under way the interests of the Church. Thus in 1609 at Antwerp the nuncio Bentivoglio is instructed by the Secretary of State concerning seminaries, disputes between bishops and chapters and between Benedictines and Jesuits, questions of ecclesiastical dignity and precedence and so on; but in the whole letter of more than three pages the subject of peace is only casually referred to once. A similar objection might be taken to Cardinal Consalvi's otherwise interesting letter (no. 91).

* Again, a certain number of papers, particularly of those which Dr. Müller publishes for the first time from the Secret Archives of the Vatican, are merely matters of diplomatic compliment and routine which have no place in any but a very exhaustive collection. Surely the sixty volumes of manuscript under the heading "Nunziature per le Paci" must have contained more valuable data than documents 33, 37-40, 42, and others.

These strictures made, we hasten to say that the volume is nevertheless full of very interesting material. The documents on the treaties of Nymegen and Ryswick, for example, some of which are published for the first time, give light on the attitude assumed by the Protestant powers toward the papal good-offices, and with the latter treaty we see the last appearance of the papacy as arbiter for almost two hundred years. For from the time when Innocent XII. was chosen to settle the question of the succession in the Palatinate the popes never again filled this function until Leo XIII. was arbiter of the issue between Spain and Germany in 1885. The latter instance has good illustrative material here. Even more interesting perhaps are the letters and despatches between the German Foreign Office and its envoys in 1898 when for some months hope was entertained of preventing the Spanish-American War by a similar act of mediation or arbitration on the part of the Holy See. Readers will find further data on papal participation in the Hague Conference and on the work of Benedict XV. during the World War. In the last case valuable additions could be made, particularly from correspondence of the French and British Foreign Offices based on the Treaty of London and illustrative of the official attitudes towards papal participation in the moves for peace.

Dr. Müller is a pioneer in his field of work, and the strictures made above are not to be taken in a sense that would deny the great utility to scholars of his present work, or that would preclude favorable expectation of his second volume.

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT.

English Preachers and Preaching, 1640-1670. By CAROLINE FRANCIS RICHARDSON. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xii, 359. \$2.50.)

MISS RICHARDSON has had a very happy idea, and she has carried it out very happily. From what would seem to most of us the most unpromising of materials and the most unpromising of subjects she has evolved a study which is not only instructive and scholarly but entertaining and—but this is rather a hope than a prophecy—of great utility. The seventeenth-century sermon is connected in the minds of most people with long and all but unendurable boredom. In every library of any considerable age there is to be found in dusty corners an immense mass of books classified under theology, seldom if ever read, or even “consulted”, the despair at once of the librarian and of the caretakers. To modern minds it seems all but inconceivable that anyone could ever have had the slightest interest in them—yet publishers tell us even to-day that “religious books” are no bad “publishing proposition”, so that, presumably, these now neglected shelves will be steadily recruited till later generations will doubtless wonder even more at the phenomenon.

From the collections of the seventeenth century the author of this study has drawn a minute and elaborate description of the whole art and mystery of sermon-making in an age when the sermon filled a greater place in life than it does now. She has begun with the training of sermon-writers in the universities, proceeded thence to the sermon, as it were, in action; that is to say, the Preacher and his Public and the Sermon and the Public; then, with what seems almost a digression, though a very long one, and perhaps a necessary one, on the secular interests of the clergy, their interest in antiquities, astrology, languages, and science, together with the fine arts, she has returned to discuss the preacher and the social order, and, finally, the character of the preachers, with one last word on their physical appearance. The result is exhaustive but not exhausting; and it may be commended to the younger generation of preachers without any qualification.

The book is packed with facts; it has innumerable foot-notes; and it is blessed with an excellent bibliography and a thorough index. It is a veritable encyclopedia of its subject. But it lacks something, which its author, of all persons in the world, could probably best supply. It lacks a second volume of selected sermons to illustrate its text, to enliven the reader, and to stimulate and reinvigorate the preaching profession. Among masses of dull and now uninteresting dissertations, doctrinal, controversial, hortatory, philosophical, erudite—and dull—there are some gems of discourse well worth calling to the attention of even this generation. There are some of the ingenious and rather bad-tempered Dr. South so well worth reading that they have been reprinted every generation for two hundred years. And while the jest-book of Hugh Peter might not suit the taste of modern readers, even that “blustering mountebank” might have some uses. Baxter and Herbert—to take two opposites of

many—still find readers; and an anthology of the great preachers of the "great century" would seem an appropriate pendant to such an important study as this. For with all the diversions of modern life, there are still some "careful about righteousness".

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Les Doctrines Politiques des Philosophes Classiques de l'Allemagne:

Leibnitz, Kant, Fichte, Hegel. Par VICTOR BASCH, Professeur à la Sorbonne. (Paris: Alcan. 1927. Pp. x, 336. 30 fr.)

PROFESSOR BASCH belongs to that group of contemporary French intellectuals who, inspired by Boutroux, Taine, and Renan, have been wont to prize with an enthusiasm bordering on adoration the philosophy of German idealism from Leibnitz to Hegel. To that group the great war gave a terrible shock, for no less an authority among them than Boutroux recanted his former faith and proclaimed with patriotic fervor that Hegel and Fichte and even Kant were the true authors of a German state of mind which had inevitably produced Treitschke and Bernhardt and the whole imperialist and militarist Pan-Germanism that lay as the root of the latest aggression against liberty-loving France.

Could Boutroux's contention be sound? M. Basch would himself go over anew all the political writings of the classical German philosophers, study them with the utmost care, and pronounce judgment. He set himself to the task in 1915 and has only just completed it. The findings are recorded in the book before us. In two introductory chapters the author points out that both the philosophy and the literature of Germany in the eighteenth century were characterized simultaneously by cosmopolitan rationalism and by nationalist romanticism. Then follow two relatively brief surveys of the political writings of Leibnitz and Kant, a somewhat longer section on Fichte, and a very detailed analysis, constituting two thirds of the entire volume, of Hegel's political philosophy. The judgment at the end is a dogmatic repudiation of Boutroux's heresy. According to M. Basch, German idealism bears no responsibility for twentieth-century German nationalism.

Professor Basch has done a very thorough analytical piece of work. He has gleaned the political ideas of the German philosophers not merely from a reading of their outstanding major works but also from a painstaking study of their less famous minor writings—their pamphlets and fragments and correspondence. He has discussed the ideas, in each instance, as they developed chronologically, and he has presented them clearly and candidly. Even Hegel's mind appears to us, under the focussing lens of Professor Basch's method, quite comprehensible.

It is more difficult to understand Professor Basch's central thesis. He thinks he has proved that not only Leibnitz and Kant but also Fichte and Hegel were inspired from first to last by cosmopolitan moral aims in behalf of liberty for the individual and the nation and that the quartette would have been scandalized if they could have foreseen the

abuse of their idealism by certain nationalist realists of a later age. He thinks also that he has proved that German idealism, in so far as it was nationalist, was akin to French Jacobinism. But, failing to recognize that French Jacobinism contained within itself germs of a rabid French nationalism, he is oblivious to the fact, demonstrable from his own pages, that rampant German nationalism could sprout naturally from seeds implanted in the German soil by philosophers of the eighteenth century, call them as you will by the name of idealist or romanticist or Jacobin. Professor Basch has concerned himself too much with the *ideal intention* of his masters and not enough with their *real achievement*.

Of course, Hegel and Fichte did not will the World War of 1914 any more than did Herder or Klopstock, or Barrère and the Abbé Grégoire! Fichte was as cosmopolitan and idyllic as Herder—or Grégoire. But Herder and Grégoire gave much comfort to future nationalists, and so did Fichte. Of course, Hegel was idyllic! Wasn't he bewitched by the World-Spirit? But we are told also that Hegel talked, as was his wont, mystically and at length about German genius, the necessity of power, the blessings of war, about absolute morality resident in the nation, about worship of the state and of national heroes, about Germans as the end of historical evolution. Professor Basch must have an extraordinary conception of recent German nationalism (he calls it Pan-Germanism) if he imagines it is something worse than what Hegel prefigured.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

The Reign of Terror, 1793-1794: the Experiment of the Democratic Republic, and the Rise of the Bourgeoisie. By WILFRED B. KERR, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of Buffalo. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1927. Pp. 499. \$4.20.)

PROFESSOR KERR in his foreword acknowledges his debt to the writings of M. Albert Mathiez. Indeed, this book may be considered the fullest exposition in English of the ideas of the very important school of historians of which M. Mathiez is the head. Professor Kerr has not slavishly followed his master; he has studied the newspapers, memoirs and biographies, the parliamentary debates, and the two famous collections of M. Aulard for himself, and he has not hesitated to differ from M. Mathiez, notably in his estimate of the statesmanship of Robespierre. The book is not, of course, a monograph—there is now too much material for a monograph on the Terror—but a very full essay on the republic of the *sans-culottes*, interpreted as a phase of the class struggle. This economic interpretation of the Terror is the characteristic contribution of M. Mathiez to the history of the Revolution. The commercial classes, armed with the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, brought about the first revolution (1789) and accepted the second (1792). They were represented in the Convention by the Gironde. The Mountain, though composed of

men of the middle class, was driven to find support against the Gironde among the workers, the *sans-culottes*, and to appease their supporters brought in measures, such as the maximum, poor-relief, revolutionary taxes on wealth, tending towards economic equality. The third revolution (1793) was, then, partly a proletarian revolution. But the proletariat was badly organized and badly led—only the *Enragés* were proletarians in the modern sense—and once the danger on the frontiers ceased the democratic republic collapsed. Thus to the classic interpretation of the Terror given by M. Aulard—pressure from without by the war, from within by the food-shortage—is added the factor of a conscious class struggle. The equally classic interpretation of Taine and Augustin Cochin, whereby the Terror is explained as the attempt of a minority of philosophy-bitten Jacobins to impose the ideal republic on a sensible but disorganized majority, is passed over in silence, and doubtless in condemnation.

The importance of Professor Kerr's book should be obvious from this thesis. In addition the work is rich in those phrases which make most studies of the French Revolution useful to teachers who wish to employ the Socratic method. There follow examples: of Marat, "pity was his first passion" (p. 20); the Jacobins "were nothing more than a debating society" (p. 19); the execution of Philippe Égalité "was the first prominent case of flagrant injustice by the revolutionary tribunal" (p. 230); "the permanent conquest of the Revolution was a psychological one—Equality" (p. 437). The detail is generally accurate. André Chénier is, however, confused with Marie-Joseph (p. 412). Professor Kerr does not bring out how much obscurity still attaches to the events of March, 1793. It is surprising to find in an economic interpretation of the Terror no references to the published documents on the food-supply and on the sale of the *biens nationaux*, nor to the special works of Stourm, Marion, Levasseur, and others on the *assignats*, the working classes, and similar topics. Too much space is perhaps assigned to military history. But political history and military history are more easily banished from theory than from practice.

Professor Kerr's style suffers from his desire to be interesting. The following sentence is not exceptional: Danton "kept in touch with opposing parties of all sorts, royalists, Girondists, emigrants, allies, revolutionary extremists, making promises and entertaining them with hopes; and though he seldom 'delivered the goods' he made sure of his own safety in case Dame Fortune frowned upon his party" (p. 22).

CRANE BRINTON.

Bismarcks Kampf mit Oesterreich am Bundestag zu Frankfurt, 1851 bis 1859. VON ARNOLD OSKAR MEYER. (Berlin and Leipzig: K. F. Koehler. 1927. Pp. xii, 598. 19 M.)

FOR the first time we are in possession of a complete and exhaustive account of Bismarck's diplomatic apprenticeship during the years 1851–

1859. Heretofore only the despatches which he wrote and the public records of the German Confederation were available. Professor Meyer was able to use and to compare with Bismarck's official despatches rich material which was made accessible to him by the opening up of the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv in Vienna after the period beginning with 1848. He was able to use also the material in the Secret State Archive in Berlin and in the archives of Friedrichsruh, Hannover, Schwerin, and Frankfurt a. M. By comparing the material thus assembled Professor Meyer has given us the final account of the eventful years during which Bismarck grew into manhood as a diplomat and reflected on those momentous questions the solution of which was to change the history of Europe.

The work is divided into three books containing seventeen chapters. Thirty-three documents, now published for the first time, make up the appendix. Here are to be found answers to such questions as what was Bismarck's real attitude toward Austria after Olmütz, what and how did he reflect on the preliminaries of unification by Prussia, and the bases of his future foreign policy. One finds, however, much more than that. Not least important is the period of the Crimean War in which the policy of Central Europe and especially Austria is thrown into a clearer light than heretofore.

In the analysis to which the author subjects Bismarck's policy toward Austria during the entire period under discussion he points out that Bismarck would not have had the sympathy of the German people on his side had he managed, as he desired, to make war on Austria in alliance with France, during the Italian war or before. In 1859 or before the German people would not have understood such a policy. There would have been only a "Greater Prussia" and not a German Empire, although it may be contended against the author that the final result left two thirds of Germany in Prussian hands and that this has not been changed since.

Master in the art of putting his opponent in the wrong and knowing that his king would not follow an aggressive policy, Bismarck's activity consisted in cleverly reporting things which were likely to arouse Berlin to action, though carefully concealing how he irritated the Austrians. From him issued the discussions for the new order of business in the Diet in 1853-1854, which was the first Prussian offensive against Austria after Olmütz. He it was who prepared the collapse of Austria's policy of alliances during the Crimean War. He also set the scene for the diplomatic duel over Schleswig-Holstein. To satisfy his superiors he worked for the equality of Prussia in the Confederation, but that was only a screen for his policy of exasperating Austria and driving her into war with Prussia. "He did not hesitate before open falsehoods, if they served these purposes" (p. 402). Just when he concluded Austria must be fought can not be determined. Bismarck's challenges, at first veiled, became open after June, 1857, when he informed Baron Rechberg that Prussia would range herself on the side of the enemy if Austria declared war.

In 1859 Bismarck had to be recalled because his superiors did not want war with Austria. This was proof enough that in Prussia a man with a new policy had risen and that unless he were removed from the scene of action war would ensue. His mission to St. Petersburg was therefore in the form of an exile—a disgrace. But if that were so, it may be said that during these eight years he had destroyed the basis of Olmütz and arranged matters so that Prussia could emerge from Austrian vassalage with the rôle of leader of a new German empire. It must not be forgotten, however, that this keen and aggressive servant of the King of Prussia was prevented from making many mistakes by less forward but better-balanced superiors like Manteuffel. It is clear that Bismarck had set germinating all the ideas that were to make up his future policy, but that, for his own good and that of Germany, he was prevented from putting them into practice at that time.

Professor Meyer's book deals with problems of the greatest importance in Central European history and in uncovering virgin soil he has rendered scholarship a splendid service. The work is indispensable to every scholar who has occasion to work in this period and is written in a style which is at once clear and animated.

ROBERT J. KERNER.

Marx-Engels Archiv, Zeitschrift des Marx-Engels Instituts in Moskau. Herausgegeben von D. RJAZANOV. Band II. (Frankfurt a.M.: Marx-Engels-Archiv. 1927. Pp. viii, 613. Unbound, 12 M.; bound, 15 M.)

THE monumental work of the Marx-Engels Institute proceeds apace, and the second volume of the *Archiv* appeared in time to commemorate the tenth anniversary, in November, 1927, of the first Soviet state. This volume, which is published in German at Frankfurt-am-Main, aims, like its predecessor, to insure adequate places in the halls of fame for the great founders of Communism. Research into all the existing material bearing upon the philosophy and mental habits of Marx and Engels, the publication of hitherto unpublished fragments from their pens, and extended interpretation thereof, including a revaluation of their contributions in the light of recent developments in science and philosophy, are the means to the end.

The major part of this volume is concerned with Friedrich Engels, though room is made for oddments, such as Deborin's essay on Fichte's dialectic and an account of the uprising of the Lyons silk-weavers in 1831, by E. Tarlé, which appeared in Russian in another publication of the Institute. These are contained in an introductory section and might seem to the casual reader to have little bearing on the general undertaking; but a closer scrutiny will show that a purpose is served. For example, the Lyons incident is probably included to show that the meaning of these events escaped the Saint-Simonists, who were social philosophers, innocent of the capacity to realize the significance of this struggle for

bread. This distinguishes them from the true materialistic interpreters whose writings were to come later.

The most important and the longest single section of the volume is contributed by its able and industrious editor, D. Rjazanov. This has to do with Engels literature which has not hitherto received the attention which it deserves. The editor's starting-point is Engels's early preoccupation with physics and chemistry, and from that point he comments at some length on the period of scientific interest and the scientific writings of Engels, and, indirectly, of Marx. The editor is somewhat apprehensive that parts of these studies may be out of date, especially those which are concerned with electricity; but he reminds himself that a materialistic explanation of society, which is, in one sense, a scientific explanation of society, can never be out of date. It is his hope that eminent scientists of to-day, whose eyes are not blinded by empiricism, will make clear the extent to which Engels's work really is or is not obsolete.

It seems that in 1924 Einstein was invited to evaluate certain scientific manuscripts of Engels, and that he expressed doubt as to their value for printing at that time. Rjazanov feels, however, that this dictum may not be conclusive; first, because it was submitted to him by Edward Bernstein, who probably had the manuscripts in a confused state, and partly because he can not be sure that Einstein had an opportunity to examine all of them.

The philosophic and scientific influences at work on Marx and Engels, while they were engaged in writing those works which were to have so wide an influence, are made clear by exchanges of letters between the two. Engels, who had in the *Realschule* a foundation for his scientific interests, began to occupy himself with the natural sciences in 1858. Both turned towards Hegel in 1858. Engels read Darwin in 1859, Marx in the following year. Discussions of the scientific problems which interested them were going on while Marx was getting the first volume of *Das Kapital* ready for the press, and in it many reflections of their interests are to be found.

The fragments of Engels's scientific writings follow. Engels, like Aristotle, lived before the days when the field of human knowledge became specialized. He was still at liberty to traverse the whole expanse, unhampered by the more recent walls between physics, chemistry, biology, and astronomy. The devoted editor set for himself the rearrangement and classification of these fragments for the readers of to-day. Some of the minor difficulties of this task may be realized after a scrutiny of the reproductions of the manuscripts opposite pages 278 and 282.

It may be that Marx and Engels were the wiser judges of what should be left to posterity. In spite of the colossal amount of work which the Institute has undertaken in order to leave detailed pictures of these men, it is possible that they should have been permitted the privacy of some unpublished manuscripts. There are few, even of the greatest, whose lustre may not be clouded by the exposure of all of their literary remains.

Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy. By PAUL KNAPLUND, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin, Fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. (New York: Macmillan Company: 1927. Pp. 256. \$4.00.)

IN Gladstone's own lifetime, not only his political opponents, but so scholarly and well-informed an outsider as Friedrich Geffcken could declare that: "Even the colonies are to Gladstone objects of comparative indifference. For their closer connection with the Mother Country he has no feeling, and he has constantly neglected their interests." Professor Knaplund, who has won for himself an established place among students of British colonial policy in the nineteenth century, finds, from an exhaustive investigation of the unpublished materials, that "Gladstone must be reckoned among the great architects and builders of the British Commonwealth of Nations". We have here a neat reminder of the fallibility of contemporary estimates. For, if Geffcken has long been convicted of gross exaggeration, it has never until now been clearly demonstrated that Gladstone not only showed a deep and continuous interest in the colonies throughout almost the whole of his official life, but developed a strong feeling for the closer connection of the greater ones with the mother country in just the sense in which that connection now exists. Whether, as in his early conservative days, he wished to train up the young offshoots for their predestined independence on the supports of irresponsible government, an aristocracy and an official church, or whether, as in later years, he desired to see them grow untrammelled from British roots transplanted to foreign soils, he was—for Gladstone—in one thing surprisingly consistent. The connection of the "happy little Englands" with the parent stock should be voluntary, whether within the empire or without. And for an imperial connection his feeling grew—even to the point of giving him a certain sly satisfaction in his own acquiescence to the planting of German colonies in South Africa and Australasia! So much the author can establish without fear of contradiction. On the other hand, to those who demand a precise use of words, his employment of the terms "architect" and "builder" will give some pause. The question arises whether the commonwealth of to-day would have come into existence without some of those efforts for imperial federation which Gladstone—with Professor Knaplund's apparent approval—so consistently scorned, and once at least "knocked into a cocked hat". Nor does it appear that the great apostle of voluntary union did much directly to inspire that essence of nationalism, that "union of hearts", upon which the empire of his vision has come so largely to rest.

One would be interested to know whether it was merely a feeling for unity of subject, or a belief that Gladstone had no "imperial policy" relative to other colonies and dependencies, which led the author to choose his impressive title for a work which refers almost wholly to the handling of the four great dominions of to-day. But, however that may be, he has

covered his chosen ground with all the thoroughness and skill that readers of his articles have learned to expect. In addition he has done good service in reprinting *Our Colonies*, and in publishing several significant specimens of the Hawarden manuscripts as appendixes.

Because his work is so good one wishes that he had taken time to make it in some other parts more readable. That this was within his powers there are passages in plenty to testify. But elsewhere he has stayed so close to his sources that interest flags under a mechanical handling of materials, or is cut by transitions unnecessarily abrupt. It is all the more tribute to the solid value of the book that no one with real interest in its subject will leave it unfinished.

HERBERT C. BELL.

L'Alliance Franco-Russe, 1891-1917. Par GEORGES MICHON, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: André Delpeuch. 1927. Pp. viii, 319. 25 francs.)

THE so-called Dual Alliance was long a classic example of the secret treaty in European affairs: its form and scope were slightly understood; its terms, unless communicated to a few by spies or by whispering statesmen, remained unknown; accounts had to be composed from certain reminiscences or out of deductions from events. Finally a Russian revolution ended the alliance. Then in 1918 a publication of the French ministry of foreign affairs—*Documents Diplomatiques, l'Alliance Franco-Russe*—made it clear that there had never been any treaty of alliance, but that in 1891 France and Russia had exchanged communications signifying acceptance of an "entente cordiale" for concerting common measures if the general peace were endangered, and that in 1893 Russia had consented also to a defensive military convention stating what each government was to do if circumstances specified arose. Since then this Yellow Book, the basis for any study of the subject, has been well used by various writers, though no extended treatise upon the alliance has been undertaken, doubtless because nothing definitive is to be achieved until the mass of the French and the Russian diplomatic documents for the period is open to students. How much can be done even now, however, is evident from this book, everywhere to be read with caution and understanding of the author's attitude, but important and extremely interesting.

The author, well known for recent studies in the French Revolution, belongs to a group who thoroughly disapprove of their country's policy before the Great War. None the less he does not join with various heated and empty writers in pouring obloquy upon Poincaré. He thinks the alliance with Russia one of the darkest pages in the history of France, a lamentable failure however considered. Much sought and hardly obtained by France from a Russia condescending and reluctant, it had little other result than vast loans on no real security to a government completely bankrupt. Already recovered from the Franco-German War when the alliance was made, France had no greater safety from it, and would have

been better off without it, for through it she was drawn into new ambitions and dangers. In 1899 Delcassé changed the entente from one concerned with European peace to a wider understanding about maintaining equilibrium and balance of power. Thereafter France supported Russia in her Balkan designs, something that led after 1909 through work of Izvolski, Sazonov, and others to the Balkan Wars, which were the prelude to the Great War, into which France was brought solely through Russia. Meanwhile they in France who had made and supported the alliance were the more able to thwart liberal social reforms there, while the money loaned made it possible to crush the earlier revolution in Russia and maintain a government which the author thinks vile and rotten to the core. The inevitable result was another revolution hostile to France and resolve that money given to oppressors should not be repaid.

The author makes numerous statements that ought to be only conjectures, and others that are open to question. But far greater dereliction it is that the history of Franco-Russian relations during these years is narrated in nearly complete isolation, with few allusions even to other affairs concurrent and closely connected. As in space otherwise almost empty one is shown a misinformed, selfish France acting with a sinister Russia. Very little is said about Austrian ambitions and intrigues, and one might be in the eighteenth century for all that is told about the militarism and overshadowing power of the German Empire. The author is zealous in representing contemporary French socialist opinion about the alliance, and gives many extracts from speeches of the eloquent Jaurès, whose death, he thinks, Izvolski brought about.

RAYMOND TURNER.

Empire to Commonwealth: Thirty Years of British Imperial History.

By WALTER PHELPS HALL, Princeton University. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1928. Pp. xii, 526. \$4.00.)

To write a history of the British Empire since 1897 is a task of no small proportions; to see it done in a style at once readable, vigorous, and comprehensive is most gratifying. This book successfully demonstrates that good history need not be dry and formal in its presentation, and wherever it is read it will certainly excite interest and provoke discussion. In approaching it the reader should mark carefully the author's statement that he is attempting "to appraise those forces within the Empire during the last thirty years which make for closer union and cohesion in comparison with those which make for disintegration and decay", and also that his "principal interest lies in the human equation". This is important, for, while the political history is stressed and the constitutional given some consideration, it is the personalities of the leaders that stand out. They are overwhelming. Chamberlain, Botha, Laurier, and Hughes, as well as Curzon, Cromer, and Redmond, step forth from these pages and the reader knows them well. Sometimes, however, the atten-

tion is confined too closely to this "human equation" and to the political pageantry of each individual part, and the "living organism which we call an Empire or a Commonwealth" is forgotten.

The study opens with the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's coronation, and a survey of her illustrious reign. Too little attention is given to the constitutional significance of this period and perhaps, had the author understood it better, he would have been less positive in his statement that the "growth of an imperial consciousness throughout the Empire is a remarkably new thing" (p. 17). At once he plunges into the Boer War, and the establishment of a nation in South Africa, followed by a chapter each on Australia, Canada, Imperial Co-ordination, and the World War. To Ireland, India, and the Nile Valley he gives in each case two chapters, and closes with a discussion of the dependent colonies and the newer Commonwealth of British Nations.

One-half of the book deals with the growing nationalism in the dominions and the striving for a new definition of their position relative to one another and to the common crown. In South Africa are the problems of racial animosity and reconstruction; in Canada the racial prejudice and the economic pull of the United States, and in Australia and New Zealand the new imperialism and the Oriental peril. When the dominions gather in conference with the mother country they face the larger problem of co-ordination in matters of trade and imperial defense, and this under the pressure of a militant Germany. In spite of the danger, and contrary to the hopes of Chamberlain, no plan of confederation could be adopted. Matters of local politics engaged the attention of all and under the urge of a sensitive dominion-nationalism, particularly that of French Quebec and Boer Transvaal, Laurier and Botha were guided out of the meshes of a superstate organization. The author fails to make as much of this important development as he might have made. He realizes that it was the shock of war which not only tried by fire the nationalism of the dominions but he thinks that subsequent circumstances finally welded this nationalism into a commonwealth rather than a confederation. In treating the war he presents the political as well as the military fronts, describing the patience with conscription and civil war with as much skill and understanding as he does the drama and heroism of the actual combat; but the peace, and the part played by Smuts, Wilson, and Borden, he dismisses with too little consideration.

In handling the more vital problems of Ireland, India, and Egypt his treatment in each case is concise and full of dramatic interest. Ireland was Britain's "greatest problem" and here with the bruised and striving nationalism Hall is at his best. As the story unfolds the reader feels that the grim experiences are his own, and when the new Free State is finally established he welcomes it as a triumph of common sense after centuries of bitter struggle. He may ask too if this triumph is a cause or a result of the shift from empire to commonwealth.

In India we are still face to face with the old problem of the "white man's burden" and Asia. The author's defense of England's economic

progress there is splendid, but the political he would criticize, certainly until Curzon, "God's butler", passes out of the picture. Here a nationalism, religious and passively philosophic rather than economic and aggressive, claims the attention of the reader, and he realizes that India is still the giant with which the Commonwealth as well as England must contend. Egypt also is a "burden" and Cromer is the man who carries it successfully, but the Sudan and Upper Nile is a frontier of the sternest sort, requiring a Kitchener and his marching men. Students will appreciate the clear treatment of the new nationalism and independence of Egypt, but like Cuba she is yet somewhat within the fold. The book closes with a general discussion of the politics and events leading up to the Imperial Conference of 1926, but it must of necessity leave unsolved the diplomatic status of the dominions and the relationship between the Commonwealth and the League of Nations.

It is gratifying to observe that the evidence of the author's scholarship is not confined to banks of foot-note citations but is found rather in the body of the work. It must be said, too, that he is not a slave to the mechanics of language and grammar. He is able to build sentences and even paragraphs without the use of verbs, but the result is not displeasing. Throughout there is a fine sincerity and a mystic reverence for life as a "whole" whatever its color or condition. A book of this kind was greatly needed, and scholars and laymen alike will welcome it as a helpful contribution in understanding the large field which it covers so well.

W. ROSS LIVINGSTON.

The Immediate Origins of the War. By PIERRE RENOUVIN, Professor of the History of the Great War in the University of Paris, Director of the French War Library and Museum. Translated by THEODORE CARSWELL HUME. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. xvi, 395. \$4.00.)

THE first edition of M. Renouvin's excellent volume has already been reviewed in these pages (XXXI. 354). The second edition is fortunately now accessible in an admirable English translation. Mr. Hume has done his task deftly and accurately, and, with Professor Seymour's aid, has added a brief and very judiciously selected bibliography not included in the French edition. In this second edition M. Renouvin has been able to make full use of the recently published *British Documents*, thus making it of far greater value than his first edition. He has also added some account of the origins of the Sarajevo plot and of Serbia's responsibility, though we wish this chapter might have been more complete.

In a great many questions the reviewer finds himself in agreement. He is inclined to think, however, that M. Renouvin has exaggerated the fear of English intervention as a cause of Germany's "change of attitude", on July 27-28, and that this change was earlier and more sincere than M. Renouvin indicates. The proposal for "direct conversations" between Vienna and St. Petersburg, as a means of finding a solution, he

rightly notes was first made by Sir Edward Grey on July 20; but he sees no significance in M. Poincaré's instant rejection of it as "very dangerous". He credits Sazonov with the initiative of the active attempt at direct conversations made later, but the suggestion came to Sazonov from the German ambassador in St. Petersburg, though Sazonov did not want this known. M. Renouvin rightly points out the imaginative element in Paléologue's memoirs, and his failure to inform his government, on July 29, as he ought to have done, that Russia would have ordered general mobilization on that night, had not the Tsar changed his mind. He thinks that Paléologue's ambiguous telegram sent at 9:15 p.m. on July 30, three hours after Russia had ordered general mobilization, stating that Russia "was resolved to proceed secretly with the preliminary measures of general mobilization" deceived the French government as to the real facts, and that the deceit was owing to Sazonov's pretense of acceding to Viviani's advice not to take measures which would give Germany grounds for mobilization. But may not Paléologue himself again have been withholding information from his government? Did he not know as much as the British ambassador, who was in very close touch with him, and who appears to have correctly and unambiguously telegraphed to Grey at 6:45 p.m. on July 30: "It has been decided to issue orders for general mobilization." M. Renouvin also rightly emphasizes the strong influence of the military authorities, pressing for mobilization measures, at Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg.

His final conclusion is: "The military provocation of July 1914 was determined by a diplomatic provocation. The connecting link between them was furnished by the Austrian declaration of war upon Serbia. Now, Germany and Austria were *alone* in desiring this provocation. It is true that they had reason to feel uneasy; nationalistic movements were threatening the very existence of the Dual Monarchy, and, indirectly, the position of the German Empire. But they would not consent to any solution other than that of violent action. They had agreed upon the program after careful deliberation, having coolly considered all the possible consequences of their action. So far as the *immediate* origins of the conflict are concerned, that is the one fact which dominates all the others."

Whether one agrees or not completely in this identification of Germany and Austria, one can not fail to admire the clarity, grasp, and judiciousness with which M. Renouvin has sifted the mass of documentary evidence, punctured and discarded untenable legends, and written what seems to the reviewer quite the best comprehensive treatment in any language which he has read on this difficult and thorny subject.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Philosophy of Benedetto Croce: the Problem of Art and History. By H. WILDON CARR, Hon.D.Litt. (London: Macmillan Company. 1927. Pp. x, 215. 7s. 6d.)

MR. DOUGLAS AINSLEE, Croce's translator and disciple, has said that "there is no short cut to Croce's thought", but certainly the expedition

is eased by having H. Wildon Carr as a personal conductor and the present reprinting of his work, first published in 1917, proves that his service is still in demand. The clarity of exposition and literary grace of the English interpreter and his resolution of Croce's paradoxes of expression into simpler intelligibility are comfort and help to the inquirer who must begin with an effort to eradicate humanity's stubbornly persistent illusion of existence as something independent of mind and then must travel the thorn road of a new theory of knowledge.

A philosophy which makes history "the summit of knowledge" demands the attention of historians. After Carr's book was written, Croce published (1917) the work translated by Ainslee on *History: its Theory and Practice* (Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921) but, apart from chapters on the History of Historiography, that book consists of matter previously published and used by Carr in his exposition. The chapters mentioned do indeed make more distinct the meaning of "the new Historiography" which is to solve "the antithesis between imaginative romanticism and materialistic positivism", but in general the theory of the new historiography is probably discovered more easily through Carr's elucidations than from Croce himself.

The theory affirms that true history is contemporaneous history and that history and philosophy are identical, or, uniting these two propositions in one, "the concept of history is the concept of reality as the eternal present". These hard sayings require us to think that the sole reality is the activity of mind in its continuous developing effort to grasp significance. It follows that philosophy is not a metaphysics searching some sphere beyond the reality of the life of mind. Neither is it a positive science framing abstractions from life's full reality to convenience our practical needs. Philosophy is the vision of reality in its full concreteness and that can only be the reality of our ever changing activity of thought unfolding and exfoliating the meanings that culminate in the concepts exhaustive of all reality, the concepts of Beauty, Truth, Utility, Goodness. Philosophy and History are occupied alike with the one reality, the developing life of mind, history approaching it from the side of the individual, philosophy from the side of the universal. For him who gives the story immanent in this movement of life there are no facts which are not thought, nothing is fact save as it has meaning for the present living interest of developing mind. The historian is therefore always widening our apprehension of the present. There is no past "hid in death's dateless night". What we apprehend as real existence is our past acting in the present, and creating new problems for life's new course.

Whether this wisdom helps in all the precise details of the historian's task more than the comparison of the ship of the desert helps the camel driver may not be evident, but the historian's complete task looms in dignity as the revelation of the movement of life in its full concreteness.

F. A. CHRISTIE.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Deutschland und Amerika: ein Rückblick auf das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen und die Ersten Deutsch-Amerikanischen Verbindungen unter besonderer Beachtung der Unternehmungen der Fugger und Welser. Von Dr. KARL H. PANHORST. (Munich: Ernst Reinhardt. 1928. Pp. xii, 308. 12 M.)

"THE history of the American states, especially those of Spanish origin, has long been numbered among the stepchildren of German historical investigation", remarks the author of this first general account of the early relations between Germany and the New World. From Humboldt onward to Haebler much attention, of course, has been given by German scholars to Spanish and Portuguese America during the colonial period and, of late years, to the individual republics that have arisen there. No attempt, nevertheless, had been made to present a comprehensive survey of the precise share of Germans in the process of discovery and exploration between 1450 and 1550. This Dr. Panhorst has done with a degree of success that merits recognition.

Popular in tone as the work is, it rests upon foundations of wide research. Acknowledging his indebtedness to the masterly studies of Konrad Haebler, the author has utilized many additional sources. Among them appear documentary evidence from the Archive of the Indies at Seville, numerous monographs issued under the auspices of the Ibero-American Institutes of Bonn and Hamburg, and a few special treatises in languages other than German. Of the more recent works, and even earlier ones, available in English there is scant trace.

About a third of the volume contains an introductory account of the geographical and astronomical contributions of German scientists to the discovery of the New World, and a description also of the struggle between Spain and Portugal over the spice trade in which German merchants had an active interest. Then follows a discussion of the commercial intercourse between Europe and America, emphasizing anew the fact that German individuals and companies were conspicuously instrumental in its promotion.

Foremost among the non-Spanish and non-Portuguese captains of oversea enterprise were the Welser and the Fugger. Their participation in trading and colonial ventures obviously furnishes the central theme of the book. Though nothing of signal value perhaps is added here to what Haebler has assembled, certain new details are serviceable and some of the conjectures as well. The reader, however, misses an account of the treatment of the natives which might enable him to draw comparisons with what commonly is associated with the deeds of the "conquistadores".

Insufficient acquaintance with writers other than German and Spanish is not alone responsible for errors and assertions of dubious worth with which the text occasionally is marked. The same holds good for slips in dates and the spelling of Spanish and Portuguese names. Only some,

and by no means the most important, of the works of Las Casas have been translated (p. 5). Pigafetta's narrative of the voyage of Magellan was not prepared at the request of Pope Clement VII. (p. 20, n. 34). To rely in this respect upon Amoretti's version of 1800 is quite unwarrantable. Ravenstein's reproduction of Behaim's globe assuredly is better than that of Ghillany (p. 23, n. 44). The author seems unfamiliar, moreover, with Fischer and von Wieser's edition of the Waldseemüller map and even with the map itself. Since Columbus died before the publication of the *Cosmographiae Introductio*, his lack of personal acquaintance with its composer needs no remark (p. 45, n. 96). The date ordinarily accepted for the discovery of Guanahani is not October 11 (p. 45). Contrary to the statements on page 76 (n. 147) there is much material in the Archive of the Indies on Spanish colonial trade and very little in America. Characterization of Magellan's rediscovery of the Moluccas, a decade after they had been found by Albuquerque's expedition, as "Welcher Schlag für Portugal!" (p. 79) strikes the author of the present work more than the event did the Iberian neighbor of Spain. It is a far cry from historical accuracy, also, to declare (p. 307) that Spain left the colonial efforts of the Portuguese, English, and French "unobserved and unmolested"!

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye and his Sons. Edited with an introduction and notes by LAWRENCE J. BURPEE. [Publications of the Champlain Society.] (Toronto: the Society. 1927. Pp. xiv, 548.)

THE appearance of this volume containing all the available documentary material bearing on the work of the Vérendryes is exceedingly timely. The increasing activity in the field of northwest history has been for some time one of the marked features of research in American history. For the first time, thanks to the painstaking efforts of Dr. Burpee, scholars have available for research in this field the letters, reports, and maps that sum up the explorations and fur-trade operations of this remarkable family.

The contribution to scholarship which the editor has made is all the more significant when we note how little attention has hitherto been vouchsafed to the achievements of this explorer. Scholars have followed Parkman in stressing La Salle to the neglect of his greater successor. During the life of the former explorer there was on the throne of France a king who comprehended, at least partly, the masterly strategy of La Salle's bold thrust southward from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. Vérendrye's greatly superior tactics in his orderly advance upon the fur-trade empire of the west failed to impress the ignoble prince who succeeded his great-grandfather on the throne.

With the publication of this mass of manuscript material it is now possible to secure a more or less complete view of the fur-trade drive

west and northwest across the entire continent. As supplementing this material there is soon to appear an edition of Radisson's Journal, that will round out the record at this important portion of the northern frontier. There will then remain the story of the Spanish trading ventures from Santa Fe, that had put them in touch with the native tribes in the piedmont district on the eastern slope of the Rockies as far north as the mouth of the Yellowstone. Doubtless we may depend upon the researches of Professor Bolton and his group of enthusiastic co-workers at the University of California to supply this missing documentary evidence.

In the historical introduction the editor has given us a well-digested account of French exploration in the northwest antecedent to the work of Vérendrye. This is followed by a résumé of the explorations and fur trade that formed the chief labor of the elder Vérendrye and his four sons until the year of his death. Lastly come the events of the closing years of the French dominion in Canada, and the activity of the Hudson's Bay Company in opposing the French competition.

The only portion of this introduction that can at all be called in question is his treatment of that portion of the Vérendrye exploration that falls within the present boundaries of the United States. Dr. Burpee appears to rest his conclusions quite entirely upon the opinion of Doane Robinson, former superintendent of the department of history in South Dakota. Mr. Robinson at one time held that the elder Vérendrye in 1738 and the sons in 1742 visited at the villages of the Mandans either on the Knife or on the Heart River. It is this hypothesis which furnishes the editor with his point of view and which determines for him his identification for most of the doubtful points in the narrative. But recently Mr. Robinson has come into possession of some new evidence and has had access to a much better translation from the French of Vérendrye's Journal. He now holds that the elder Vérendrye on December 3, 1738, visited the villages of the Hidatsa or Gros Ventres in the latitude of 48° 12' (as given in the journal). Also that Vérendrye's son on December 6 (not "the sixth day after") visited an Hidatsa village on the Missouri River at a spot which is now the site of the city of Sanish, McLean County, North Dakota, and returned on the seventh (not the fourth). How far this change of view affects the Vérendrye narrative appearing in the introduction may be seen from the fact that among other things it definitely fixes the point on the Missouri River from which the Vérendrye sons made their long journey to the southwest in 1742. This point is the Hidatsa village at the present site of Sanish reported by Vérendrye's son in 1738. This statement of the Vérendrye journeys, which is by no means new, has the additional advantage of not conflicting at any important point with the original narratives. It makes clear even that mysterious reference to a "westward flowing river" (the Missouri) which the editor finds difficult to account for.

The possession of the original journals and their accompanying maps will now enable scholars for the first time to reach their own conclusions on many of these disputed points.

O. G. LIBBY.

America and French Culture, 1750-1848. By HOWARD MUMFORD JONES. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1927. Pp. xvi, 615. \$5.00.)

THIS book is an attempt to estimate the influence of French culture (exclusive of literature, which is reserved for a second volume) on American culture. Professor Jones does not attempt to define American culture, but he identifies three aspects of it: (1) the "cosmopolitan spirit", exemplified in the New England scholar, the Virginia aristocrat, and the merchant princes of New York and Philadelphia; (2) the "frontier spirit" characteristic of the West; (3) the "bourgeois spirit" exhibited by the middle class. Having provided the reader with this "background", the author presents a mass of detailed information (gathered not always from the best sources, but the best available to him) tending to show the prevalence of things French in America during the century covered. It is doing no injustice to Professor Jones to say that he has generously made us a gift of his richly crammed note-books, all arranged in orderly fashion; so that if one wishes, for example, to learn where and when French grammars, manuals, dictionaries were available, or where and when the study of French was introduced into American schools and colleges, one will find this book of immense value. I confess to have learned much about a great variety of such matters; and if I should forget most of it to-morrow, I at least know where it may all be turned up again in case of need.

On the basis of this detailed information, Professor Jones ventures to draw certain conclusions, handsomely admitting in the preface that he has often generalized on insufficient data. Even with this allowance made, the conclusions are still rather meagre, not to say disappointing. "It appears that the great obstacle to a sympathetic reception of things French by the Americans has been . . . a *sense of religious difference*. This . . . carries with it a suspicion of French morality, of French infidelity, and of French Catholicism. . . . This spirit of distrust . . . colors our whole attitude towards things French. . . . It underlies the American legend that in the arts of the theatre, the table, and music, of painting, sculpture [and, we may add, literature], the French are immoral, sensuous, and light-minded." Nevertheless "things French *possess social prestige* for the Americans"; particularly so no doubt in the fields of fashions and manners, but also, curiously enough, in respect to the very things of which we are most suspicious. In short, we can't get rid of the notion that the French are superficial and immoral, but we nevertheless like to copy their dresses, to buy their pictures, to stage their plays, and to imagine that food tastes better if prepared by a *chef*.

As the upshot of so many pages of data, this is surely not a great deal. I wonder if Professor Jones might not have safely ventured as much before he made his careful researches. I myself have often thus ventured, always indeed with a sinking sense of insecurity—a sense of insecurity which (and this is the disturbing fact) still somehow miserably

persists in spite of these researches so aptly designed to banish doubts. I can't avoid the feeling that detailing the contacts of Americans with things French is one thing; that estimating the influence of French culture on American culture is another; and that between the two is a gulf extremely hazardous to cross. "Influence" in this connection is so uncertain a quantity to calculate, so illusive a quality to estimate! When one billiard ball strikes another, the struck ball *always* moves in a precisely determinable direction. But when a French idea strikes an American mind, the mind so struck may move forward or backward, to right or to left, up or down, slowly or rapidly—or it may not move at all.

The situation is complicated by the fact that the American mind may move most rapidly when struck by an idea which is only supposed (quite mistakenly) to be French. When quite a young lad I heard the Reverend Van Ness (his prestige was immense in Waterloo, Iowa) preach an eloquent sermon passionately denouncing "French atheism" in general and Voltaire in particular. I have reason to know that the contacts of the Reverend Van Ness with things French were of the slightest; and I am convinced that he denounced Voltaire, not because he knew anything about him, but because he wanted the boys of Waterloo, Iowa, to be good boys and join the Methodist church. The effect of this sermon (and of how many thousands like it!) was undoubtedly to confirm many Americans in their settled conviction that the French, having the misfortune to be born abroad, are naturally immoral and light-minded. My point is that such powerful and pervasive "influences" as these have operated effectively, not in proportion to the contacts of Americans with things French, but precisely in proportion to the absence of such contacts. "I hate that man", said Charles Lamb on one occasion; "I hope I never meet him; because if I met him I would be sure to like him; and I hate him."

Not that the influence of the sermon was necessarily of the sort intended. I myself had the perversity to be influenced in a quite other way. It is true the sermon made a profound impression on me, chiefly because the words "atheist" and "Voltaire", unlike such words as Solomon and sanctification, were altogether novel; so that the passionate eloquence of the preacher invested them with horrific and engaging connotations. The incident accordingly gave me an interest in atheism and in Voltaire which I have never wholly lost. As soon as ever I could I read books about Voltaire and books written by him. It was a disappointment surely to learn that Voltaire was after all not an atheist, but something less; and yet consoling to learn that he appeared to have cut more of a figure in the wide world than there was any reason to suppose the Reverend Van Ness had done; a consideration which supported me for a long time in the comfortable illusion that in the matter of "culture", in the business of having appropriated the best that has been thought and known in the world, the Americans were, as compared with the French, simply nowhere. Subsequently the influence of further contacts with things French had the effect of replacing this illusion with another one.

Again my point is that "influences" of this order (the most effective of all) are not to be determined from the statistical and enumerated information gathered with such admirable care by Professor Jones.

This is not to say that Professor Jones's book is not a good one. It is, very, for the information it contains. But what it does to illuminate the interesting question of the influence of French culture on American culture is, I confess, the least of its merits.

CARL BECKER.

England and America, Rivals in the American Revolution. By CLAUDE H. VAN TYNE, Head of the Department of History, Michigan University. [Lectures delivered on the Sir George Watson Foundation for American History, Literature, and Institutions.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1927. Pp. xii, 192. 6 s.)

DURING the last few years the American public has had its attention called to vigorous attacks on histories of the American Revolution. The mayors of our two largest cities have waged campaigns, and charges and countercharges have been hurled with abandon. The question arises, "What is it all about?" The first of these lectures gives the answer of an established historian who has spent twenty-five years of study in the field of the American Revolution. In "The Struggle for the Truth about the American Revolution", Professor Van Tyne writes as a historian and as a controversialist, for he has been one of the men most attacked by our political, fundamentalist, heresy-hunting school of pseudo-historians. He does not take their attacks passively but emphasizes his intellectual and moral disdain for the fraternity. His discussion of "The Struggle for the Truth" is worth careful reading by those who feel the duty to be informed. The lecture shows that the recent outbursts are expressions of the old conflict between popular tradition, reinforced by the will-to-believe, and the truths that are made known by historical research. The "scientific" approach to history, the "digging for the gold of truth", offend those who either have selfish interests to serve or who want historical facts and personages forever perched on pedestals where they may be the objects of flowery rhetoric and adulation. The nationalist tidal wave of the World War had made the attempt to tell the whole truth about our national past one of the hazardous occupations. Mayor Thompson was not in the lime-light when the lecture was written but it helps to explain him.

The other lectures are not controversial though much that is in them must outrage the fundamentalists. "The Rival British and American Merchants" is an exposition along the lines made familiar by the researches of Beer and Schlesinger. The lecture on "The Anglican Church and the Dissenters" explains the cultural cleavage between these groups. The Dissenters and the Anglicans had different inheritances which disposed the one to resistance and the other to passive obedience.

North of Maryland these groups took opposite sides, the Anglicans being Loyalists. In the South where the Anglicans were the most numerous they were usually Patriots. The explanation is that religion had a lighter hold on them and that their political ambitions and economic interests clashed with the projects of the British government. Studies show that eighty per cent. of the Patriot leaders, whose religion can be learned, were Dissenters while over seventy-five per cent. of the Loyalists, of known religion, were Anglicans.

Three other lectures deal with the rival lawyers, the rival soldiers, and the opposing diplomats. The American Revolution was preceded by more than a decade of political and legal struggles and these struggles are of more significance than the battles which followed them. The lecture on the activities of the lawyers is one of the best of the group. The account of the rival soldiers is also valuable. Washington's greatness is revealed by the candid and sympathetic treatment of the spirit and military habits of the colonists during the war. In diplomacy the Americans were tyros facing professionals. Franklin alone was capable.

Professor Van Tyne's style is made readable by a keen sense of humor and illumined by a skillful selection of material. The lectures are competently written in the full light of twentieth-century scholarship and for students and intelligent laymen are a valuable résumé. Babbitts and one hundred per cent. Americans should be led to them only after prolonged preparation.

FRED J. HINKHOUSE.

The Northwest Fur Trade, 1763-1800. By WAYNE EDSON STEVENS, Ph.D. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. XIV., no. 3.] (Urbana: University of Illinois. 1928. Pp. 204. \$1.50.)

THIS monograph is unquestionably a very valuable study of an old subject. The author undertakes to supply the need of a careful study of the fur trade of the region of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi Valley in its broader economic and diplomatic aspects. He does this under seven well-chosen chapter heads: the Period of Transition; the Revolution and the Fur Trade; Big Business and the Treaty of 1783-1800; the Organization of the Fur Trade; the Expansion and Monopoly, 1783-1800; the Organization of the Fur Trade; the Methods of the Fur Trade and the Diplomatic Settlement.

Realizing at the outset the complexity of the problems which defy unified treatment of the entire history of the fur trade in America the author confines himself wisely to a clear presentation of the most important distinct phases of the trade in the region of America of earliest world significance. The writer has performed unusually well his endeavor to bring together the many separate studies relating to the period, reviewed thoroughly the sources already used, and exhausted apparently all the profitable study of his new sources of information.

Under the Period of Transition there is given the clearest account of the foundation of British commercial supremacy in the Northwest with a properly keen analysis of the means of its achievement in spite of initial handicaps due to the superior initial advantages of the French. The contrasts in methods of the French and English are shown. After an unusually concise explanation of the British Lords of Trade plan of 1764 for the imperialization of the control of Indian affairs there follows the disclosure of the fitful groping and indecisive efforts of the English government to regulate and systematize the Indian trade. The efforts of Sir William Johnson to organize the Northern Department after 1766 in accordance with the plan of the Lords of Trade of 1764 were opposed by the Canadian merchants, who objected successfully to the restriction to the well-known designated posts. Herein is shown the reappearance of the old struggle of *laissez faire* and governmental regulation. Supported by Governor Carleton of Quebec the merchants defeat the capable Johnson in his efforts to imperialize the trade. However superior then as later this desired imperialization was from an administrative point of view, economic considerations are proven to have defeated its realization. The colonial sectionalism with respect to the trade is clearly shown together with the relations of the Quebec Act thereto, which act is shown to have been really a combination of the details of the plan of 1764 and the colonial plan of 1768.

The period of the Revolution is shown to have been an "almost inextricable tangle of war, Indian politics, and trade" from an American as well as from a British standpoint, with the British successfully retaining their trade ascendancy. After 1783 the British, and Canadians especially, simply entered upon another phase of their expansion and monopolization of the trade of the region. The firm conviction of the British and Canadian merchants that their interests in the fur trade had been compromised by the treaty became a factor constantly to be reckoned with in the later consideration of the commerce and diplomacy of the Great Lakes region. The greatest contribution of Dr. Stevens's study is his clear exposition of the steps by which the Canadian merchants expanded monopolistically their trade, influenced the government, both in Canada and in London, to aid them, and perfected, in the meantime, a most effective organization of trade. There is also furnished here the most conveniently accessible accurate description of the methods followed in this fur trade, derived from a praiseworthy study of new as well as old original sources. In the concluding chapter there is given a very useful extraction from the more complex diplomacy of Jay's Treaty, already exhaustively presented by Bemis, of that part which relates to the status of the Northwestern posts and the fur trade. A valuable bibliography of guides, manuscript, published sources, and secondary works on the subject is attached.

R. B. WAY.

The History of the American Working Class. By ANTHONY BIMBA. (New York: International Publishers. 1927. Pp. viii, 360. \$75.)

THIS is a survey of American labor history, not from an "impartial" standpoint, "as other labor histories pretend to be", but "it openly takes side with the working class against the bourgeoisie" (p. v). It is therefore an interpretation of American history according to the "materialist conception" of Marx and Lenin, "which holds that the social and political structure of society is not the result of the free choice and the free will of the people; it is not the work of a few individuals, or a product of someone's high ideals and humanitarian dreams. It is rather a product of historical development, and the foundation of this development and of this political and social structure are the material conditions".

These material conditions are identical with economic conditions, and economics is therefore materialistic and not idealistic or humanitarian. The outcome is "class struggle", and the rôle of the state in this class struggle, the split between "conservative leadership" and radical mass movements, and a theory of "causes and effects", where other histories deal only with events and structures. The "bourgeoisie" is anybody, like Washington, Lincoln, Rockefeller, Powderly, and all American farmers, who have the two ideas of private property and individual advancement. The "working class" is a mass, not a lot of individuals and families. How this mass has been evolving towards the communist revolution, which will substitute soviets of workers and peasants for a government controlled by capitalists, is thus the materialist conception of history, and consequently Bimba turns out to be quite idealistic, after all. Much more so, indeed, than those economic historians whose idealism is not so naïve, or who see the probability that dictatorship of capitalism is more likely to survive than dictatorship of the proletariat. Bimba's is, indeed, not an economic interpretation but a materialist "ideology".

Anyhow, notwithstanding the D. A. R., it is well worth while to know how the communist interprets American history on materialistic lines and reaches his idealism of a future soviet. It is, first, because "the American people have revolutionary traditions. The War of Independence and the Civil War can not but prove that the masses of American workers and farmers are capable of engaging in great struggles" (p. 356).

Second, the "revolutionary bourgeoisie" of the War of Independence have taught the communists how to use "underground and illegal as well as legal means to fight the enemy", for they "organized effective militant illegal secret revolutionary organizations under various names, such as 'committees of correspondence', 'committees of safety', 'committees of observation', and the like".

Third, the American Revolution was not an uprising of the masses but was a "conflict of the interests of the American ruling class with the interests of the ruling class of England", the former of whom were

large landholders, land-speculators, and slave-owners, like Washington, or were Northern smugglers and commercial importers of negroes from Africa (pp. 39 ff.). Even Lincoln, of the "northern bourgeoisie", was not an anti-slavery idealist—he merely wanted more room in the West for the bourgeoisie (pp. 118 ff.), and the Civil War opened up to the Northern bourgeoisie "a new era of unheard-of profits and graft" (pp. 129 ff.).

Finally, the "industrial miracles" of production of the twentieth century are creating a huge mass of unskilled workers "more revolutionary than the skilled workers" and their conservative leaders, and, though the Communist Party is but a persecuted "left wing" from the organized labor movement, yet the workers will join that party, for "it is impossible to imagine the masses of workers remaining forever helpless in the hands of the capitalist class".

JOHN R. COMMONS.

The Oxford History of the United States, 1783-1917. By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, Professor of History in Harvard University. Two volumes. (London: Oxford University Press. 1927. Pp. x, 531. 32 s.)

THE Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History in the University of Oxford occupies a position of singular strategic value. He stands before a sounding-board that reflects whatever he may utter, and directs it with emphasis to every corner of the nation whose history he is expounding. No other professor of American history may hope for so large an audience in the United States. It is not the fault of the generous donor of the chair, or of the incumbent, that the people among whom the professor resides are indifferent to his message. It is no new thing for the missionary in *partibus infidelium* to have a greater significance for the faithful who have sent him out than for the souls that he desires to save. Those whom he represents see in his figure the image of themselves; if they fail to recognize in his utterances the thoughts of which they are conscious, his very prominence, by emphasizing the contrasts, sets the subject for debate.

It is because of this fact that this *Oxford History of the United States*, written by a Harmsworth professor and offered to the English "in the hope of introducing British readers to the history of the United States" (preface, p. v), acquires a high value in contemporary historiography. Professor Morison has heretofore dealt in monographs, and has shown the master touch at every point where New England has come beneath his pen, or where he has left the ports of the wind-borne commerce for the high seas. His *Maritime History* reaches all the high levels in either scholarship or style.

He has enjoyed writing this book. It sparkles from the first page to the last; from the beginning where the Americans "had approached a 'state of nature' so closely that it was difficult for their own representa-

tives to govern them" (I. 38), until the end, when "Roosevelt dismissed the last Progressive convention with the advice to follow him back into the Grand Old Party" (II. 473). There are passages in every chapter that show critical insight, joy of composition, and, indeed, at times a lyric strain: "When England is at war", he says, "and the Royal Navy is measuring the extent of neutral rights, neutral commerce with her enemy is apt to thin out" (I. 168); "Colombia was struck by the big stick, but all Latin America trembled" (II. 443); "Calhoun is a tiresome figure in American history, and pernicious as well, unless the Civil War was wholesome" (I. 389); "As the Germans in the dark Teutowald yearned for the sunny, fertile plains of Italy, so the backwoodsman of Tennessee, as he tilled his patch of corn in the shade of girdled trees, while kinsmen watched with loaded rifle, dreamed of the day when he would go whooping down the great river of the West, to loot the lazy Spaniard of his undeveloped land" (I. 74).

It is a literary history, written for the leisurely, gentle reader, accurate in its statement of facts, and leading the cultivated interest from high spot to high spot, from the treaty of independence in 1783 until the entry of the United States into the war of 1917. There is a serious question, however, whether it either represents a new and reasoned point of view, or gives a fair summation of the conclusions and proportions that to-day would be generally acceptable to ripe and learned scholarship in the United States. Professor Morison is likely to be accepted as the ambassador of the historians, as was Page of the Americans. The credentials are unimpeachable; but in one case as in the other it needs to be inquired whether the minds of the ambassador and of the people have run along together.

The book covers a period of one hundred and thirty-four years; fifty-four in the first volume and eighty in the second. It ignores, by deliberation, the period of the colonies and of the Revolution, for it treats of the United States as an independent nation. Because of its scope, there is little occasion to state the background of colonial life and law, without which our American institutions can not be explained, and without which the Constitution must appear more as a stroke of genius than as an evolution from established precedent. But Professor Morison finds room, in the thirty-two chapters of his first volume, to give eleven or more chapters to foreign relations and the War of 1812. While he is dealing with American affairs as the tail of the European kite through the years of the French wars he proceeds with unhurried leisure to explain and clarify; but of necessity he rushes over many of the internal matters in the creation of the government and the organization of American life. In some of these latter topics it is not possible to find in his book a consecutive treatment adequate for their explanation.

In volume II. high condensation is made inevitable by the author's decision to crowd eighty great years into the space occupied in volume I. by fifty-four somewhat lesser years. He divides the volume nearly

evenly. About one-third goes to the antecedents of the Civil War (pp. 155); one-third to the Civil War itself (pp. 168); one-third, and the shortest of the thirds (pp. 151), to the half-century that has elapsed since Appomattox. There are few historians to-day who would devote to a narrative, even to an admirable narrative, of the details of the Civil War more pages than to all the events that have happened since its close. From any current point of view the grand significance of the Civil War was not in its military events but in its place in the economic and social revolution that transformed American society in the nineteenth century. Even its causes were less vital than the consequences that trailed it. Only the antiquarian or the romantic point of view would call for the eleven chapters through which the conflict is displayed. If this is what our English friends want from American history it is hardly worth while to gratify them; if they are to receive what they need, in order to find their way around a modern world in which American weight affects the balance of every scale, they ought to be told in detail of the stages by which the federal experiment became a national success. What they need to understand is why and how the advance of industrial society in America has produced the United States of to-day. They need to know much of the problem of race, and the way it has worked out in government and culture. They need a display of continental commerce and of a single tongue operating within the protecting bounds of a customs union. And they need a full appreciation of the frontier process which for the first century after independence was continuously transforming peasants and commoners from western Europe into new types of democratic humans, and was an ever-active ferment among the American-born of the new nation.

There is no historian among us who would not be proud to have been able to write this book; but there may be many who would have wished that, considering its opportunity, it might have been differently conceived.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The Rise of the Common Man. By CARL RUSSELL FISH, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin. [A History of American Life, edd. A. M. SCHLESINGER and D. R. FOX, vol. VI.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1927. Pp. xx, 391. \$4.00.)

EACH of the more than "57 varieties" of history seems to be entitled to its day of vogue, when it holds the centre of interest and attention; the order of the procession seems to be determined solely by the turn of fancy of either the writers or the readers of what purports to be one or another of the "brands" of history. Political, constitutional, military, biographical, religious, institutional, educational, financial, economic, and other types of history have had their days—each, in turn, at first neglected, then overemphasized, and at last put in something like a merited position—and now, on all sides, we hear and read of the importance of fields hitherto neglected and undeveloped, the fields of social and

intellectual history. Let them come! All are welcome! Because, some day, after we have developed enough of the specialties of history, we may then have something written which may be worthy of long life under the unqualified name of "history".

The series, of which this volume is a part, is dedicated, according to the leading promoter, to American "social and intellectual" history. I presume it is not fair to judge any single volume of the series by the claims made publicly by the said arch-promoter; and I shall not do so. Judging this volume merely by the light of previous publications, it is an interesting and valuable piece of work. Though it contains much that is common knowledge to those who may have read ever so little on the period, it assembles much to be found only in out-of-the-way places.

In the opening chapter the author presents the orthodox Turner material in a manner which reflects admirably the spirit, temper, and flavor of the decade centring around 1830. The second chapter, the Material and Social Inheritance, is a hodgepodge of diverse bits about each section of the country, which leaves the reader no clear-cut picture; some forced attempts at fine writing also tend to obscure thought rather than to facilitate it. The chapter devoted to financial, economic, and political history shifts from one subject to another without much logical transition or connection, but does contain an excellent account of the rise of the convention system and of corporations. The chapter on farming, planting, and transportation is well done, but contains nothing new. Industry, Invention, and Trade is a well-written chapter with some new and interesting material, much of the old story redressed attractively, and some points which seem out of proper position. The story of the coming of the Irish and the Germans is well told, together with the old stories of the westward movement and the public land system, presented in an excellent summary.

Manners and Morals is the most refreshing of the first seven chapters because it contains more that is not found in most previous accounts, including texts. The first two pages on the Politicians, devoted to the attitude of the people of the different sections toward politics, are excellent, but the rest of the chapter is the old story, none too clearly presented. The Religious Scene is adequate, though seemingly not as interesting as it might have been made to be. Some really surprising facts are given on Education for the People, along with much valuable information, but the chapter is so much of a catalogue of facts that it is difficult reading. Art, Science, and Literature includes a great variety of interesting bits and leaves much the same impression one gains after reading a few of the contemporaneous accounts of travellers. Reform receives, for the period, an excellent definition, and the reformers are admirably characterized; besides the slavery controversy, which is handled well in a few pages, the gamut of the numerous other reform movements is run.

Manifest Destiny reflects the richness of scholarship shown by the author in a previous work in this field. The End of an Era has no unity

and is difficult to justify as a chapter. The Balance Sheet, however, is more than a mere summary of the most significant points developed in earlier chapters; it compares and contrasts conditions in 1830 and in 1850, and presents charmingly and effectively many ideas, implications, and generalizations not included previously. The Critical Essay on Authorities is well arranged, but is weak on newspapers; indeed, a more effective, though extremely laborious, use of newspapers would have enriched the whole volume. About half of the relatively numerous contemporaneous illustrations are valuable and effective.

Upon finishing the book, a fairminded reader will be forced to say at least to himself: "Thank you, Mr. Author! Again we are greatly in your debt, for you have again advanced the day of appearance of the American History."

C. S. BOUCHER.

Junius Smith, a Biography of the Father of the Atlantic Liner. By E. LEROY POND. (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock. 1927. Pp. 292. \$5.00.)

IN establishing the position of Junius Smith in the history of ocean steam navigation Mr. Pond frankly names at least six independent vessels that made use of steam in whole or in part in passages across the Atlantic before Smith's company sent the *Sirius* from London to New York in 1838, and remarks that "it is possible that there may have been more". Junius Smith's activities had to do with the establishment of a regular steamship-line service across the Atlantic and Mr. Pond states his claim as follows: "Not all the credit for the ocean liner belongs to one man. It is the product of many minds. But to Junius Smith belongs the honor of conceiving the idea of a line of steamships across the ocean in a day when steamships were looked upon with suspicion and ventured only on the rivers and along the coasts, and to him belongs the credit of organizing a company which by its success led to the formation of two rival companies, one of which, the Cunard line, won undying fame as the earliest permanent steamship company upon the Atlantic. It is because of the Cunard's wonderful record that Smith's name has been crowded out of the annals of history. In the height of his success, however, from 1838 to 1840, he was regarded as one of the foremost sons of Connecticut, and it is probable that the cause of steam navigation on the Atlantic was advanced fifty years because of his efforts."

Although the advancement of ocean steam navigation to this extent may perhaps be overstated, it is certain that Junius Smith is entitled to a great deal of credit. He began promoting a steamship-line company as early as 1833, and in 1835 he organized an English company, the British and American Steam Navigation Company, referred to by some writers as the Transatlantic Steamship Company. Macgregor Laird, the company's secretary, had charge of vessel construction and the evidence presented indicates rivalry between Laird and Smith. Junius Smith,

however, was responsible for the organization of the company, and as chairman of the board had charge of its financial, traffic, and operation affairs. The company's first vessel, the *British Queen*, was contracted for in 1836, but was not completed until 1839; serious delays enabled a rival concern, the Great Western Steamship Company, to launch the steamship *Great Western* in 1837 and make ready for its first trip in April, 1838. Smith's company thereupon chartered a coasting steamer, the *Sirius*, which completed a voyage to New York on the evening of April 22, 1838. The *Great Western* arrived at New York the following day. Both vessels were heralded as the first transatlantic liners, the public acclaim accorded them being much like that attending the recent successful flights of transatlantic aircraft. The *British Queen* entered the company's service in 1839 and the *President* in 1840. Severe competition on the part of the Great Western and Cunard companies and of sailing packets was encountered and when the *President* was lost at sea in 1841, the British and American Steam Navigation Company was dissolved.

The latter parts of the book deal with Smith's activities in the United States following the financial failure of his steamship line. He was active in promoting steamship subsidy legislation in Congress, and also experimented with the growing of tea in South Carolina.

Mr. Pond's book contains little text. It consists largely of letters written by Junius Smith, original documents concerning his steamship line, and contemporary newspaper accounts. It is a very interesting volume not only because of the detailed information given concerning the services of Junius Smith, but also because of data relating to early steamship lines, the marine engines and structural features of their vessels, their business methods, their freight and passenger traffic, and their financial tribulations.

GROVER G. HUERNER.

Frémont: the West's Greatest Adventurer, being a Biography from certain hitherto unpublished Sources of General John C. Frémont together with his Wife Jessie Benton Frémont. By ALLAN NEVINS. Two volumes. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1928. Pp. xii, 344; x, 345-738. \$10.00.)

IF not to be classed with Captain John Smith, Barnum, or Brigham Young, the subject of this biography indubitably presents one of those glamorous careers so attractive to the practitioners of the "new" biography that has come along as one of the literary by-products of behavioristic psychology. These possibilities were recognized over a quarter of a century ago by no less a psychologist than Josiah Royce. Writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1890, he said: "An analysis of the very peculiar and noteworthy qualities that marked the late General Frémont would doubtless be a charming task for a student of psychology if only adequate materials were at hand. As it is, the man must long remain in many respects an enigma to the public." The writer of the

present biography, however, if he has felt any temptations in this direction, has steadfastly resisted them save in his concluding chapter devoted to Frémont's Character and Fame. In short, this is a conservative, well-written biography, reasonably well documented, and sympathetically critical. The author has availed himself of most of the now adequate materials whose absence Royce deplored, although in some instances he has preferred to accept the conclusions drawn from these materials by others in preference to making his own analysis.

Of the seven-hundred-odd pages into which the two volumes are divided, approximately half are devoted to Frémont's activities through the "conquest" of California and nearly half to his career in the Civil War period, with the result that the last twenty-five years of his life receive somewhat scant attention.

Accepting the onus of the subtitle, Mr. Nevins relies rather heavily on the *Frémont Reports* to establish his hero's claim to distinction as an explorer. The reader is led to suspect, however, that naïveté and recklessness may have been the outstanding traits of "the West's greatest adventurer", who with equipment that was "not altogether Spartanly simple" (I. 108) and with expert guides, manifested surprise that the South Pass (well known for a quarter of a century) "was not an abrupt break in the mountain wall but a broad opening" (I. 111), who in climbing what he believed to be the highest peak in the Wind River range "sprung upon the summit" where "his chest expanded as he surveyed this immense landscape" (I. 113), who on his second expedition was "handicapped" because "unfortunately" he could not secure a guide to show him the road west of St. Vrain's Fort (I. 151), whose descent of the Platte in 1842 the author characterizes as an example of "reckless impetuosity" (I. 114), whose midwinter crossing of the Sierras is admitted to have been "appallingly foolhardy" (I. 168) as a physical venture, and who failed to "insure the safety of his men" (II. 413) after having decided to essay the hazardous crossing of the San Juan range. "A severe critic", says Mr. Nevins (II. 414), "would say that the lives of the men lost on this foolhardy expedition were upon Frémont's head." Mr. Nevins prefers not to be too severe a critic.

In the California chapters, which are very well done, the author accepts in general the prevailing judgment which on the whole is sustained by the additional manuscript material cited. In fact Frémont's part in the "conquest" does not even need the justificatory evidence of the long-discounted Bancroft memorandum, which Mr. Nevins quotes at length (I. 281 f.). If Frémont erred in the interpretation of the instructions Gillespie brought him, it seems to have been through identifying the voice of Benton with the voice of government, not the only time that the chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs has seemed perhaps to those nearest him to speak with the voice of final authority.

The Civil War and "Hundred Days" chapters serve to bring out the elements of weakness as well as of strength in Frémont's character. The same earnestness, impetuosity, and lack of judgment, the same failure to

gauge men, and the same romanticism that appear in the earlier years, are here portrayed in excellent relief.

The chapters covering the later years, like those dealing with the exploring period, are less satisfactory than the portions devoted to the middle years. To be sure, Frémont's career had lost much of its public significance, though his unfortunate connection with the railroad development of the post-war era and the financial vicissitudes of the Mariposa venture not only give opportunity for an excellent study of the high finance of the period but seem to the present reviewer to demand a little closer study of Frémont's part in the unhappy business developments of those years. Possibly subjective family papers rather than objective documentary material were relied upon too fully in the preparation of these sections.

There are a few errors and inconsistencies. In the critical bibliography Frémont's *Century* article is misdated (II, 717). Mr. Nevins at one point tells us that Frémont "always delighted in the spectacular" (I, 112), but later we are reminded that while "he is sometimes written of as a showy and pretentious personality, nothing could be farther from the truth" (II, 700). Although the index is reasonably complete, it fails, for instance, to list such places as San Rafael and Sausalito, both identified rather distinctively with the California episodes.

The volumes are carefully illustrated and fully bear out the excellent standards of workmanship long adhered to by the publishers.

HARRISON C. DALE.

The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota, 1858-1900. By HENRIETTA LARSON, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CXXII., no. 2.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1926. Pp. 273. \$4.00.)

THIS praiseworthy study shows not only the exhaustive research and accurate scholarship expected in a doctor's thesis but also a broad and sympathetic comprehension fit to interpret intricate economic facts in terms of human lives. It is a real contribution to economic history, and it furnishes new chapters to the epic of the American frontier.

The collapse of the Minnesota land boom in the panic of 1857 hastened the development of the frontier state into a wheat district by driving throngs of speculators out upon the land itself. Two years later the value of the wheat shipped east equalled that of the fur. For some years longer the wheat areas were limited to the valleys of navigable streams in the southern third of the state, and the average farmer hauled his thirty-bushel loads of grain to a "river town" in winter (when alone the trails were passable for even such loads) by a six- or ten-day ox-team journey, trusting to find a purchaser in some "general store" keeper who dealt also in farm produce. In passing, our attention is called to "frequent" notices in early newspapers of farmers found frozen to death on such trips.

After depicting briefly these early conditions, Dr. Larson traces successively the gradual evolution of enterprising dealers in general farm produce into wheat middlemen; the expansion of packet and rail transportation, and the influence of such agencies upon the swift growth of monopoly in the grain-buying business; the farmer's helplessness against arbitrary prices and against dishonest grading and mixing and manipulated market and crop reports; the long struggle for efficient state regulation to prevent such abuses—with the recurrent danger that officials become "too sympathetic" with the forces they are meant to watch; the shifting of grain areas toward the northwest, when diversified farming began in the older districts of the state as the result of larger town populations there and of the appearance of the refrigerator car, in the 'seventies, to transport butter and other perishable products to more distant markets; the consequent shift of marketing, milling, and transportation centres, and the part played in all this by the shift in the relative values of spring and winter wheat, due to new milling processes that were long monopolized practically at Minneapolis; and the beginnings of the struggle between big-business control and farmers' co-operative movements.

Because probably of the exigencies of a doctor's thesis, the volume closes with the year 1900—just at the threshold of the most strenuous chapters of the seventy-year story. That abrupt stop does remind one of H. G. Wells's lament about the "modern histories" of his youth—which all pulled up hastily at Waterloo—as though they feared to come upon something immodest immediately after. But, so far as Dr. Larson has carried her work, it is almost beyond cavil. With even hand she holds the scales level between the isolated and ill-informed farmer, leaning instinctively toward outgrown methods of trade, and the probably no more scrupulous but far more powerful middleman (better placed to appropriate his larger share), whose combined greed and foresight have worked out a new and beneficent marketing system indispensable to our complex modern life.

Dr. Larson has made extensive though apparently cautious use of corroborative material gleaned in personal interviews with aged or aging actors who were prominent in various phases of the development of the Northwest thirty or sixty years ago. The voluminous foot-notes are frequently enlivened by picturesque phrases, excavated by a sure eye from the dust of ancient newspapers. The errors detected are trivial. A Minnesota woman ought hardly to refer to Stearns County as "in about the centre of the state"—inasmuch as three-fifths of Minnesota's area lies north of the north line of that county; and Sidney M. Owen served the Northwest too faithfully to deserve that his name be misprinted (as S. A. Owen) both in the text, on page 207, and in the excellent index.

WILLIS MASON WEST.

Woodrow Wilson; Life and Letters. By RAY STANNARD BAKER. Volume I., *Youth*; volume II., *Princeton*. (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1927. Pp. xxxiv, 335; x, 373. \$10.00.)

THIS is the first biography of President Wilson that can be regarded as of serious historical importance. The biographical sketches published by White, Lawrence, and others, which will doubtless be of interest to the future student of contemporary opinion on Wilson, were based upon inadequate sources. Mr. Baker, writing the "authorized" life, has been given access to all the papers preserved by Mr. Wilson himself, and has exercised indefatigable energy in his search for letters from him or papers pertaining to him that have been preserved by friends. The bulk of the sources for the political career of the President is doubtless much greater than that of those utilized in these two volumes, for the period previous to 1910. But despite the fact that Mr. Wilson kept no continuous diary and made no copies of his personal letters, Mr. Baker has evidently not been hampered by lack of material. He has relied chiefly upon Woodrow Wilson's letters to Ellen Axson Wilson and to the intimate friends of the early years, Dabney, Bridges, and Talcott. For the Princeton period he has used in addition letters to Cleveland Dodge, other Princeton trustees, and academic colleagues. Such material of an intimate character Mr. Baker has supplemented by the use of Wilson's memoranda and notes, as well as addresses and reports, many of which have been printed. He has furthermore gathered extensive information from the family and from personal friends and colleagues; that provided by Mr. Stockton Axson and Professor Winthrop Daniels is of especial importance; it is somewhat surprising that in this respect the contributions of Cleveland Dodge and Dean Fine are not apparent. Of the 685 pages in these volumes, rather less than half are devoted to Wilson's family background, his youth in the South, and, following his undergraduate days and early attempt to practise law at Atlanta, the development of his academic career until the call to Princeton in 1890, at the age of thirty-four. The second volume is devoted entirely to his twenty years at Princeton, a story well known in its general lines but until now most inadequately described in its details. The six chapters into which this volume is divided take up successively his twelve years as professor, his travels in Europe, literary activities, the election to the presidency and the introduction of the preceptorial system, the attempted introduction of the quad system, and finally the Graduate College controversy.

Mr. Baker's chief quality as biographical writer, apart from his amazing industry, is a talent for orderly arrangement. This is fortunate in the case of a work based upon varied materials, and will be increasingly important in the later volumes when the issues of Wilson's career become more complex and the sources more numerous. Mr. Baker is always clear in his presentation and avoids anything like subtlety in his running comments. There is nothing in these volumes which the simplest

mind can not comprehend. He writes, it is true, as an official biographer, extending the sympathy which every biographer ought to have with his subject to something approaching eulogy. This is heightened by his frequent use of exclamatory sentences designed to drive home the force of Wilson's qualities and purposes: "How well Wilson knew himself when he wrote that paragraph!" (I. 199); "The sheer audacity of the man!" (II. 148); "Who could tell what a leader of faith and courage could do!" (II. 155); "He waged his battles utterly regardless of personalities, his own included—too regardless!" (II. 178); "There was so much to be done! And so few men who could do it!" (II. 208). Even in his attempts to assume a critical attitude Mr. Baker admits Wilson's mistakes grudgingly, leaving the reader with the impression that his failings did not seriously mar the perfection of his nature and that the fault lay with the other side. Thus on page 248 of the second volume he says: "No doubt mistakes were made. Wilson was human. He was too impatient with dullness; he was so swift and clear in his own mental processes that he did not explain enough." Mr. Baker does not, as in his *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, where often his evidence in this respect is quite faulty, directly impute to Wilson's opponents unworthy motives; but his intense admiration for the President of Princeton does prevent him from any serious effort to present the point of view of Cleveland, West, or Hibben. Wilson's side of the case is explained in the most satisfactory manner, through his own letters and addresses. But there is no dispassionate consideration of the case against him. From this account the non-critical reader would almost certainly gain the impression that Wilson's opponents were men of complete dullness or selfishness.

Such criticism of the author's very natural bias, although it may lead us to hesitate in accepting his judgments, does not affect the importance of these volumes regarded as a historical document. They contain ample material to explain the character of one who for a period became the leader of mankind, if such a man can ever be adequately explained. The early chapters explode the myth of a dual Scotch-Irish nature; Wilson was pure Scottish, with a consciousness of virtue and rectitude of purpose, at once humbled, directed, and elevated by the will of the Almighty; with all the spiritual eloquence of the sixteenth-century Scottish preacher, softened and warmed by the American South, and developed by the most intelligent study of and exercise in the art of oratory. Mr. Baker is absolutely candid in his presentation of letters which throw light on the less lovely side of Wilson's nature and which may confirm some of his contemporary critics in their unfavorable estimate. There is something cruel in Wilson's comment on the death of Disraeli, when, as Mr. Baker says, "He gloats . . . over the end of Beaconsfield: . . . 'The old fox could not have lasted much longer and I'm prone to feel only relief at his departure'" (I. 135). He could not help regarding opposition to his policies as akin to treachery; thus in the case of Cleveland: "I do not think that my knowledge of how he failed and disappointed us . . . will

long obscure my admiration" (II. 285). He assumed that West was actuated by purely selfish motives, and he could not forgive Hibben for following his academic conscience in opposition to his own wishes. On the other hand, there is material in these volumes to prove the greatness of the qualities which led him to his high position, especially the sincerity of the moral purpose which informed the intensity of his zeal as an educational leader, as it did later in his political career. He was one of the greatest teachers of undergraduates in our day, whether in the lecture hall or in personal conference, just as he became the greatest of political leaders. He won his results through his capacity to stir the emotions of his listeners so as to serve an intellectual or a political purpose. The opinions of critics may differ as to whether his was a great intellect; despite the clarity of his political vision and considerable resourcefulness, he lacked the qualities of a successful politician. But as a prophet, whether educational or political, he was unrivalled.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

America and the New Poland. By H. H. FISHER, with the collaboration of SIDNEY BROOKS. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1928. Pp. xxvi, 403. \$3.50.)

THERE is something seriously lacking in a book of this title which finds room only in a foot-note for mention of Dr. Robert H. Lord, principal adviser of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace on questions affecting Poland, and which overlooks the circumstance that the chief of the Polish commission of experts at Paris bore the name, honored in American history, of Pulaski. Such omissions reveal a lack of acquaintance with the personal factors underlying the supposedly impersonal recommendations of experts, upon which the treaties of peace were founded. Without such an acquaintance the story of America's part in the making of the new Poland remains incompletely told. This lack, in a book built upon other books and articles, is partly explained by the fact that these experts have never dramatized their work, retaining in their published studies the scholarly, detached attitude that characterized their reports.

Similar shortcomings are evident in the treatment of America's relation to the Polish cause during the period of the war. Some glimpses of propagandist efforts and the interplay of personal influences in the United States are afforded, but there is little indication of the genesis of American official pronouncements upon which great stress is laid.

All these matters are much more adequately dealt with, albeit in a narrowly hostile spirit, in W. Recke's *Die Polnische Frage als Problem der Europäischen Politik* (Berlin, 1927), which the author evidently had not seen. Many of the missing personal details, however, could have been gleaned at first hand from Dmowski's *Polityka Polska*, included in the author's bibliography but nowhere referred to in the text.

As regards Americans engaged in more adventurous activities connected with relief and reconstruction, the case is different from that of the experts at the Peace Conference. A mass of documents, articles, and pamphlets from their hands is available in which facts and figures are illuminated by colorful elements of "human interest". The portions of this book dealing with such subjects are, accordingly, as should be expected of a study based on materials in the Hoover War Library, much the strongest as well as the bulkiest. The author would probably have been wiser to adopt a more restricted scope and title, frankly relegating other aspects of the story to the position of background, as he did in *The Famine in Soviet Russia*. As the book stands, the achievements of the American Relief Administration and other agencies of humanitarian and economic assistance occupy something less than two-thirds of its space. This material is organized in a scheme partly chronological and partly topical which makes the complicated threads easier to follow than a strict adherence to either system alone would have done. It is presented with enough "local color" to attract the general reader and enough solid information to constitute an impressive picture of America's contribution to Poland's recovery from the effects of war and political transformation.

The book is by no means free from editorial carelessness. On page 338 occurs an apparent sentence composed of two dependent clauses. Christian names fare badly. "Ramon" may fall more naturally on the ear at Palo Alto than "Roman", but the combination with Dmoneski and Dmowski is slightly fantastic. One of the two Grabskis prominent in recent Polish politics is variously called "Ladislav" and "Ladyslav"; while references to him in the index are placed under "Grabski, Stanislas", which category, by the way, includes no reference to the only page (120) upon which the latter's name appears, and two references to pages containing neither name.

J. V. FULLER.

MINOR NOTICES

Historische Technik: die Historische Untersuchung in ihren Grundzügen dargestellt. Von Kr. Erslev. Aus dem Dänischen übersetzt von Ebba Brandt. (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1928, pp. 100, 3.50 M.) A Danish scholar who began his historical studies in 1870, and has been for more than forty years a professor of history, is entitled to a word on the subject of methods of research. He has demanded little space for that expression, for he has compressed within an even hundred pages and an hundred paragraphs a digest of the whole matter. The booklet originated as a syllabus for a lecture course, and after various printings came out in 1911 under the title *Historisk Teknik*. It now appears with certain adaptations in German translation, largely because the author desires to gain wider attention to theoretical points on which he differs from German scholars.

The subdivisions of the subject have for the most part a familiar aspect, but that is inevitable, for the nature of the matter is such that only cleverness of language can make a difference in the treatment. A definition of history and its relations to other branches of knowledge; the classification of sources; the testing of materials; the interpretation and valuation of evidence; all of these topics are classified with numerous illustrative examples and sufficient reference to the literature of research.

The author's divergence from Bernheim and others lies in the definition, or, rather, classification, of certain kinds of material. German writers ordinarily divide historical sources into narratives (*Berichte, Tradition*) and relics (*Ueberreste*). The author argues that this classification is wrong, for every narration is at the same time a relic of its period, and this mode of thought leads to confusion in the interpretation of the materials. He would classify them as "mute" and "speaking" sources (*stumme und redende Quellen*), in order to avoid repetition and error in considering the source first in one light and then in another in frequent alternation. The argument is brought in again at various points, particularly under "Interpretation", where for Bernheim's use of that word he would substitute "Conclusion" (*Schluss*).

To the onlooker the controversy does not seem very serious. The object of classification is to make the student see his material in all its aspects and assign to each its respective weight. As to interpretation, the mind moves with such unconscious rapidity from one consideration to another that its operations are not likely to be affected by slight divergences in definitions.

J. M. V.

Origine et Évolution de l'Homme. Par Georges Goury. [Précis d'Archéologie Préhistorique.] (Paris, Picard, 1927, pp. 404 and 17 plates, 35 fr.) French, English, and German authors vie with each other in producing works of general reference on the cultural and physical evolution of man. Among the outstanding volumes by French authors published during the year just closed the reviewer takes special satisfaction in recommending Goury's volume on the *Origine et Évolution de l'Homme*. The author is proud of the contributions made by Frenchmen to our knowledge of prehistory, and his own work is in keeping with the best French traditions. He begins with the very oldest accepted evidence bearing on the antiquity of man and carries the reader through every phase of the subject up to the end of the mesolithic period.

The chief fault of which the author can be accused is that he did not carry the story on up through the neolithic period as well as the age of metals; let us hope he has it in mind to remedy this defect in the near future. The text and foot-notes both afford evidence that the author has gone to the original sources for his material and that he has kept pace with the latest developments in the field of prehistory.

GEORGE GRANT MACCURDY.

Le Travail dans la Préhistoire. Par G. Renard, Professeur au Collège de France. [Histoire Universelle de Travail.] (Paris, Alcan, 1927, pp. 278, 30 fr.) This is one of a series of twelve volumes on the *Histoire Universelle du Travail*, to be published under the direction of Professor Renard; eight volumes by as many authors have already appeared. After an introduction on methods to be employed in prehistory the author takes up in turn: food; two great inventions, fire and language; the first industries; shelter; clothing and defensive arms; man and animals (domestication); the beginnings of agriculture; the first means of transport; commerce and war; origin of art; origins of science; the first human societies—clan and totemism; and the finale of prehistory when writing passed from the ideographic to the phonetic stage.

In both style and content this work is worthy of high praise. The author justly stresses two of the greatest prehistoric achievements—the invention of fire and of language. In this class he might well have placed the wheel. The cord which binds together all the chapters is labor, both physical and mental, without which no people could ever have made prehistory what it is—the logical background for history.

Each chapter is followed by a short bibliography in which standard works, rather than the most recent, play a dominant rôle. This matters little, however, for the average reader's sense of satisfaction with the author's text will be so deep that he may fail to appreciate the need of further enlightenment on the special subjects under discussion.

GEORGE GRANT MACCURDY.

La Chine Antique. Par Henri Maspero, Professeur au Collège de France. [Histoire du Monde, ed. E. Cavaignac, tome IV.] (Paris, Boccard, 1927, pp. xvi, 624, 40 fr.) This is the first critical and sensible history of ancient China ever written on which the author and the public alike merit sincere congratulations. The former histories of China were content to give a digest of the fabulous and nebulous traditions of ancient records whether these were authentic or not. Hirth's *Ancient History of China*, for instance, is not a history of China, but merely presents a summary more or less uncritical of what from the viewpoint of Chinese scholars or from our own angle may be regarded as historical in the contradictory chaos of native myth and makeshift. Maspero discards the native tradition completely and concentrates his efforts on reconstructing the social organization, the religious life, the philosophical systems and literature of ancient times. He has succeeded admirably in restoring a truthful picture of ancient Chinese society, as far as it can be done with the deficient state of our sources and the limited material at our disposal. The only hope for increasing our knowledge of ancient China rests on the spade—intelligent and systematic excavations in which merely a rudimentary beginning has been made. In his concluding chapter Maspero demonstrates that in the fourth and third centuries B. C. foreign influences, chiefly coming from Iran and India, gradually penetrated into

China and tended to establish the first scientific notions of geography, astronomy, astrology, and geometry; also, it may be added, the first progress, in engineering and mechanics.

The book should be translated into English and made the fundamental text-book in all university courses on the history of China.

B. LAUFER.

L'Économie Antique. Par J. Toutain, Directeur d'Études à l'École des Hautes Études, à la Sorbonne. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité, dirigée par Henri Berr, vol. XX.] (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1927, pp. xxvi, 439, 30 fr.) This survey of economic activities from Homeric times to the fall of Rome, while not intended for the specialist, is a well-proportioned and conservative summary of the best work that has been done in this field. On the Greek side the rather abundant evidence has been so well worked over during the last twenty years that Toutain could produce a consistent story; the Roman part—where the data are less satisfactory—reveals the hesitations of one who has had to avoid minute details and is averse to setting down hypotheses. Only in the chapters that deal with Gaul and Africa—provinces which Toutain knows exceedingly well—will the historian of Rome find new materials. After sketching the "domestic economy" of Homeric days, the author dwells especially on the growth of commerce in the Greek world, which he attributes directly to Hellenic love of adventure and liberty. The economic effects of Alexander's penetration far into Asia are well described. The extension of international trade as a consequence of the Pax Romana is perhaps overstated though the author is at least to be thanked for not finding paternalistic policy at every turn. When he attributes the decay of the economic system to governmental interference necessitated by the barbarian invasions he is conservative rather than persuasive. The whole argument is perhaps overschematized and, as is often the case in summaries of this kind, smooth phrases here and there take the place of disturbingly inconsistent records. However the book fully deserves a place in Henri Berr's very respectable series of surveys.

TENNEY FRANK.

Byzance et Croisades, Pages Médiévales. Par Gustave Schlumberger, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris, Geuthner, 1927, pp. 365, 60 fr.) In this volume M. Schlumberger has reprinted seven articles, sometimes with considerable additions, originally published between 1902 and 1918, mainly in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The subjects range from the Palace Revolution at Constantinople in 1042 to the visit of Emperor Emanuel V. to Paris at the close of the fourteenth century. The essays are not usually the result of original research; the author says of one, "I have followed Röhrich step by step". In these articles intended for the general public M. Schlumberger has not been so careful as in his works of erudition; for example, he quotes William of Tyre for an event which

happened more than forty years after William died. The volume is sumptuously printed and accompanied by twenty-four excellent plates.

D. C. M.

Jean Mombaer de Bruxelles, Abbé de Livry: ses Ecrits et ses Réformes. Par Pierre Debongnie, C.S.S.R., Docteur en Sciences Historiques. [Recueil de Travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie, 2^{me} sér., 11^{me} fasc.] (Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1927, pp. xii, 354, 12 Belgian fr.) John Mombaer of Brussels, like Thomas à Kempis before him, had been attracted by the atmosphere of sanctity which was said to envelop the monastery of Mount St. Agnes. This monastery, situated near the city of Zwolle, was a member of the Congregation of Windesheim. It was here that Mombaer imbibed the principles of that great religious and educational movement named *Devotio Moderna*, or New Devotion. When in 1496 the Congregation of Windesheim was invited to reform several Augustinian monasteries in France, Mombaer was put in charge of the first mission. In 1498 he became abbot of Livry, a monastery near Paris, where he labored faithfully until his death in 1502.

Debongnie's scholarly biography is very largely devoted to an analysis of Mombaer's writings and a description of the latter's work as a reformer; little space is given to the early life of Mombaer, because the sources in Paris and the Netherlands do not contain the necessary data. The author has succeeded in showing that "Mombaer expressed the *Devotio Moderna* not only in his *Rosary of Spiritual Exercises*, but also in his reforms and in his whole life" (p. x). It seems proper that the University of Louvain, through the labors of a capable biographer, should contribute to our knowledge of religious conditions in the Low Countries at the end of the fifteenth century, when Louvain was the only institution of higher learning in the Netherlands. Debongnie has accomplished a task which might have proved very difficult for a French or a German scholar; only the wrong spelling of the word *archief* was noticed by the reviewer. The style of the biography is very satisfactory, although there are a few obscure passages, such as the reference to Cromwell on page 245.

It is worth noting, as Debongnie carefully explains, that Mombaer deviated in one important particular from the principles of the *Devotio Moderna*. Like Erasmus, he was strongly affected by Wessel Gansfort's view on the eucharist, concluding that the eating of Christ's body was a spiritual communion (p. 250). Unfortunately the author has relied too much on Acquoy's presentation of the early history of the *Devotio Moderna*, and he has not had the courage or the ambition to discuss fully the influence of Mombaer on Loyola, saying simply that "we must leave this task to others", and that Codina has failed to solve this problem (p. 293). The second foot-note on page 221 is based on incorrect information.

A. HYMA.

A Short History of Western Civilization. By Alan F. Hattersley, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Professor of History in Natal University College. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. x, 246, 6 s.) To write the history of Western civilization in 222 pages is possible, but much must be left unmentioned, more suggested, and conclusions suspended without the support of relevant facts.

In this book the beginning is hopeful, for the author declares it his purpose to trace "the origin and growth, in its essential features, of that European civilization which constitutes the atmosphere, intellectual and moral", in which the citizen of to-day lives. The developments of social standards, communities, governmental institutions, and religious beliefs are selected as the chief topics for treatment, all with the hope that "the reader will obtain some conception of the upward trend of man's development from the earliest *stone age* to the present day". Others who venture to write histories of civilization will do well to make as good a beginning.

But the performance is another thing. After hesitant steps (the conclusions of the anthropologists are conjectural) man begins his social and cultural evolution in a hunting pack, attains patriarchal society—especially among the Teutons—discovers democracy in Nordic Athens, achieves law in Rome, reposes for a time in a medieval monastery but breaks his devotions with audacious doings at sea (in which the British navy triumphs), higgles his way as a trader into modern times, invents machinery, shapes a new order—of nationalities and democracies—in the French Revolution, and pacifies Europe with the League of Nations. In strict harmony with their own policy of isolation, the Americans are reserved a page and a half as a note at the end of the book. At that the Egyptians and Babylonians fare worse, for eleven lines are sufficient to record their deeds. And the Hebrews get never a word! Admiral Rodney is more important than either Moses or Jesus, neither of whom is mentioned. Plato rises to the importance of a foot-note.

In spite of all this, the discussions of medieval monasteries, religious toleration, and the peace movement are better than some found in more ambitious works.

The Cult of Santiago: Traditions, Myths, and Pilgrimages. By Reverend James S. Stone, D.D. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1927, pp. 380, \$6.00.) The title of this book is ill-advised, too heavy for the substance, but the temper is delightful, desultory, and imperturbable, with a kind of intellectual charity that is like alms-giving. Neither historical in the strict sense nor anthropological at all, the book is concerned with "traditions, myths, and pilgrimages". It offers itself like a pleasant acquaintance made on a journey, cultivated, discursive, and humorous.

The identity and biography of the Apostle James, brother of John and son of Zebedee; the appearance and development of his legend as patron and champion of Spain; the attitude toward the world, visible and

invisible, of folk in the Middle Age; the impulse and character that marked the Pilgrimage; the lives and dispositions of various folk, gentle and simple, who were associated therewith—all these topics fill up nearly 400 pages of easy discourse. To the whole is prefixed a chapter of kindly and generous acknowledgment of others who have written on the theme. Paper and print are beautiful but the book should have passed through the hands of a drastic proof-reader of the old-fashioned kind, who watches not only for typographical errors (which are few) but for small slips in matter of fact, historical and literary, and checks up the proper names.

After all, these things are of small account to the author or the reader. The main interest lies elsewhere. The thesis is plainly stated. Legends have their own place in the sum of things, interpreting men's minds and influencing them. Faith is an experience good in itself, like love or conquest, and quite independent of fact. What we call miracles can not be dismissed in the lump, but must be examined one by one, not only for their actual probability which is often considerable, but for their value in significance and suggestion, or as symbolic expression, or as contributing to morale. The apparitions, during the Great War, of St. George and the Horsemen, are very curious. Furthermore, the men of the Middle Age had certain consolations and some sorts of insight that we may envy them and do well to seek for ourselves to recover. This is what Dr. Stone really cares to say; and with gentle repetition and mild insistence he takes his reader along. Here is no question of facts, but of states of mind.

In the face of dogma, either fundamentalist or agnostic, benignity is an attitude unexpected but admirable. Dean Inge can dissolve the Scriptures in dilute Neo-Platonism and so swallow them, but he shrinks with resentment before the proletariat. Will Durant can choose his "Ten Philosophers" for the power they exerted over great masses of humanity but he still scolds at dissidents from his scheme. Dr. Stone has chosen for his cultivated audience a way safer perhaps, certainly more persuasive.

Christian IV., King of Denmark and Norway: a Picture of the Seventeenth Century. By John A. Gade. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928, pp. 320, \$5.00.) This entertaining and gossipy biography is written by an American diplomat and man of affairs, the author of "Klingspor's" *Charles XII.*, and *Cathedrals in Spain*. It is clearly a book for popular consumption, not for the serious student. Entertaining anecdotes are strung together without too nice a regard for their chronology, historicity, or importance. The story of the king's feat in personally detecting a forgery by a nobleman, one Christopher Rosenkrands (pp. 132 f.)—a story long since discarded by Danish scholars—is given full credence. While the food consumed by kings, nobles, and common folk in past times is worthy of attention, it is not quite clear why a diet

of bread and beer, fish or meat, with cheese, butter, and porridge, should lead the king's domestic servants to "throw themselves into the nearest moat" (p. 164), when many a European peasant to-day flourishes on such a fare. The portrait of Christian IV. here presented is perhaps the only full-length picture available to the English reading public; but it is a composite of the traditional and the historical king. The biographer, in W. R. Thayer's phrase, has attained "multiplicity" rather than "totality". The work falls short of "coming as near as possible to reproducing the event or the person as in life". A truer picture of the king and his times might have been given by omitting or condensing the less important or typical of the unsavory details of Christian's life, and devoting more space to his times. However, the work is not without value for its glimpses of seventeenth-century social life, its setting forth of popular superstitions and curious customs. We have here a ruler described truly enough as a restless, fussy, paternal monarch, who found no detail too small to merit his attention, and who frequently lost sight of his larger objectives. But he did have pretty definite policies, especially with regard to Sweden and the North German cities and states. These are discussed in too incidental a way to be of much value. The index of references has useful bibliographical hints, but such lists are of scant value if place and date of publication are not given, and the books are neither segregated nor evaluated.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

A History of the University of Oxford. By Charles Edward Mallet. Volume III., *Modern Oxford*. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1928, pp. xxiv, 530, \$7.50.) Sir Charles Mallet's third and concluding volume fully maintains the high standard of accurate scholarship set by its two predecessors; it even surpasses them in the interest of the story it has to tell, and in the charm and vividness with which it is presented. The history of the University of Oxford will not need to be rewritten for many years to come.

Among the many obvious merits of Sir Charles's great book the one which impresses the present reviewer as outstanding is the skill with which the author weaves the history of the different colleges—emphasizing each at the period of its pre-eminence—into the story of the development of the university as a whole; perhaps equally notable is his ability to make the progress of the university reflect that of the nation. Thus the century which elapsed between the flight of James II. and the beginnings of the French Revolution—treated in three chapters entitled respectively Jacobite Oxford, the Colleges of Hearne's Day, and the Age of Dr. Johnson—sees Christ Church and Pembroke occupy the centre of the stage, and we read of the Oxford careers of John Locke, William Pitt, the Wesleys, Blackstone, and Charles James Fox. The next forty years are covered in a single chapter called the Beginnings of Reform; we learn how Lord Eldon, examined in Hebrew and history, was asked but two questions ("What is the Hebrew for the place of a skull?" to

which he answered "Golgotha", and "Who founded University College?", to which he replied "King Alfred"), and was declared "competent for his degree"; this is the period when Balliol, after nearly a century of drunkenness, nepotism, and intellectual stagnation, began to be reanimated by Dr. Parsons; when Corpus produced a host of eminent men; it is the Oxford of Canning, Peel, and Bentham, of Shelley, of Thomas Arnold, and of Sydney Smith. The succeeding age was of course primarily that of Oriel and the Tractarians; but it was also a prelude to that notable series of liberal and enlightened reforms of the university and college statutes, and of the methods and aims of the instruction provided, which enabled modern Oxford to meet the demands of modern scholarship with the least possible violence to the traditions of her immortal past. The story is carried down to the present, and all the latest innovations are duly recorded. The heroic sacrifices of the Great War, the tale of the losses, and the changes in the attitude and interests of the post-war undergraduate, rightly fill the majority of the pages of the concluding chapter; but we may also read the dreary story of the establishment of degrees for women, and the chronicles of the achievements and influence of the Rhodes scholars. When Sir Charles has given us so much, it may seem ungenerous to ask for more; but we should have been profoundly grateful for his verdict on the accuracy of the oft-repeated tale that the real reason for the otherwise apparently inexplicable numerical preponderance of the Rhodes scholars from the United States over those from Canada, Australia, and South Africa, is to be found in the belief of the donor, at the time he made his great bequest, that the states of the Union only numbered thirteen.

The author has wisely recognized the impossibility of painting a true picture of modern Oxford without some reference, at least, to the lighter side of the university's life; and he gives due space to everything included under the American term of "extra-curricular activities". The Union debates, the beginnings and development of cricket and boating are charmingly described; interesting sidelights on the manners and customs, the dress, and the language of each successive generation of undergraduates are furnished in their proper place. And most of those who have known and loved the university for the past twenty or thirty years will be delighted with the names of her most recent sons—undergraduates, dons, and alumni who have attained distinction in after-life—whom Sir Charles has selected for special mention. He has written a book which will prove indispensable to the specialist, interesting and delightful to the general reader, and a well-spring of happy memories for Oxonians all over the world.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

The English Navy in the Revolution of 1688. By Edward B. Powley, Assistant Master Merchant Taylors' School. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1928, pp. xii, 188, 12 s. 6 d.) Winds, tides, and sands facilitated the "colossal gamble" of William III., according

to Mr. Powley. Had the English admiral chosen another base the revolution might not have been bloodless. This solid little monograph analyzes the despatches and memoirs of 1688 in an able mixture of strategy, hydrography, and politics. Two of its conclusions are of particular interest. William took a long chance when he sailed with his transports without first having gained command of the seas by an action. He felt, however, that a naval battle might arouse English antagonism. The base of the English fleet made possible this risky move. Challenging Macaulay's reference to the "stupid security" of James II., Mr. Powley shows that there was a royal force in readiness by June and this increased until it seemed quite adequate for defense. The command was given in September to Lord Dartmouth, a Protestant royalist, more dependable than some of his "caballing" captains. Dartmouth stationed his fleet at the Gunfleet Buoy off Essex. A study of the sandbanks on the hydrographic chart appended to the work shows that this station offered a much narrower range of manoeuvre than the base off Kent which the king had ordered in August. The result of Dartmouth's choice was the "disaster" of November 3. The Dutch flotilla under Herbert sailed safely past the Thames with an east wind which combined with the tide to render the English fleet immobile at Gunfleet. The wind even changed to permit the landing at Torbay; then it freshened to prevent Dartmouth's pursuit. The rest of the story is a dreary anticlimax. Dartmouth remained wind-bound off the south coast for a month, unable to retrieve his error. By December 2 he declined to aid the escape of the little prince, and ten days later he surrendered the fleet. The author insists upon Dartmouth's integrity, but one wonders if the admiral may not have considered the Gunfleet base the easiest way out of a trying situation. The story is well documented. The reader may have difficulty in following it through the maze of detail in the "play by play" account, and the conclusions might have been driven home more strongly. A description of the navy itself in 1688 forms an appendix. The book fills a small but important gap in English naval history. One hopes that Mr. Powley or someone equally able may continue the story through the last remaining major gap—the naval contest with Louis XIV. which was just starting as the 1688 episode closed.

ROBERT G. ALBION.

Napoleon I.: ein Lebensbild. Von Friedrich M. Kircheisen. In zwei Bänden. Erster Band. (Stuttgart and Berlin, J. G. Cotta, 1927, pp. 371, unbound, 14 RM.; bound, 18 RM.) The present work by Herr Kircheisen is but one of a long series of studies by the same author dealing with various aspects of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era. The list includes *Napoleon I., sein Leben und seine Zeit*, planned in ten volumes, five of which have already appeared, *Napoleon I. und das Zeitalter der Befreiungskriege im Bilde*, *Briefe Napoleons*, *Gespräche Napoleons*, *Napoleons Untergang 1812-1815*, *Memoiren Napoleons*, *Bibliographie des Napoleonischen Zeitalters*, besides several others in preparation. The

author's purpose in this *Lebensbild* as set forth in his preface is two-fold: to offer a clear-cut picture of Napoleon, and to present him as he actually appeared to his contemporaries. Too often, he tells us, Napoleon has been presented according to the preconceived ideas of his interpreters, while erroneous statements are repeated over and over again without careful scrutiny as to their source. These faults Herr Kircheisen seeks to avoid. His treatment aims to be entirely objective and at the same time he has made every effort to get at the truth. He has spared no pains, he assures his readers, in searching for new material and in testing the value of material already known. One can not but regret, however, that he has not gone a step further. Though the absence of references and foot-notes is perhaps not undesirable in a popular work, he might at least in the preface have told his readers what new material he actually found, or have appended a critical bibliography of his main sources.

In the body of the text he frequently, it is true, distinguishes between statements based on legend or rumor on the one hand and those of credible witnesses on the other. He also points out the inherent improbability of certain utterances attributed to Napoleon and discounts heavily the St. Helena narratives as too highly colored by the glamor of time and space. In some places, however, he categorically dismisses statements as untrue and makes new affirmations without sufficient evidence. In the matter of objectivity he has greater success; he treats his subject with detachment. The result is the picture produced by the photographer rather than by the painter. The background is also well proportioned to the main subject. To drop the figure, Herr Kircheisen writes an interesting narrative with clarity and in pleasant, easy style. But that he has produced a strikingly new or an epoch-making picture can hardly be claimed.

Highcliffe and the Stuarts. By the Hon. Mrs. Edward Stuart Wortley, C.B.E. (London, John Murray, 1927, pp. xviii, 337, 16 s.) A diplomat who served the British Foreign Office in various European capitals between 1800 and 1845 could hardly fail to leave behind unofficial letters of value. In this volume Lord Stuart de Rothesay and his Stuart relatives and political friends are seen as a circle of correspondents keenly observant of the passing pageant of contemporary war, diplomacy, revolution, and party strife. Lord Stuart, as the grandson of the third Earl of Bute, represents for his generation the Scottish Tory strain in the political thought and manners of the period. His close association with Wellington and Castlereagh involved estrangement from Canning and the Canning connection; and for that one matter alone portions of the book are well worth perusal. But the scope of the letters as a collection is as wide and varied as British diplomacy of the time, embracing all the sovereigns and statesmen of the age. Here and there are descriptive passages with a trenchant expression or a telling phrase hitting off a public personage with striking effect. The letters range in character

from the crisp courtesy and sanity of Wellington's campaign notes, to the correspondent who, reporting of William IV. at the time of his accession, could write: "The King has declared that he will be damned if he will ever appear in breeches again, so I suppose H. M.'s Ministers and Ambassadors will wear gold laced Pantaloon"; or another correspondent who wrote in 1830 of the refugee King of France: "Charles X. is very happy at Lulworth: he sleeps in the same bed that Charles I. and James II. occupied."

Each important capital of Europe, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Madrid, Lisbon, Brussels, Paris, all in fact save Berlin, furnishes in turn its quota of embassy gossip, in sum, a pleasing diversion from formal diplomatic history. There is material here to turn many a hazy mental picture of an early nineteenth-century figure into a clear, sharp portrait.

C. E. FRYER.

Geschichte des Deutsch-Englischen Bündnisproblems, 1890-1901. Von Friedrich Meinecke. (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1927, pp. 268, unbound, 9.50 M.; bound, 11.50 M.) More and more clearly it is appearing that the capital error of recent German diplomacy was not in any of the decisions taken in 1914, or even in the policies pursued during the previous decade, but in the rejection of British friendship while the British diplomats were still uncommitted to any special engagements with France or Russia. That all attempts—and they were numerous—for an Anglo-German entente ended in failure must be mainly ascribed to the wavering and uncertain policy of Berlin, and this is admitted by the best qualified German historians. It is not so much a story of bad faith or double dealing as one of genuine bewilderment. The new Kaiser wished to build greatly or at least conspicuously ("to be rather than to seem" was never his motto) as an architect of alliances. French enmity was taken for granted, though even in this direction some tentative overtures were made, but Russia and Great Britain were not so irreconcilable. But the little Bismarcks who surrounded his throne—Bülow, Holstein, and the rest—could never make up their minds to pay the necessary price for a stable understanding with either power. They paltered with their opportunities until the mistrustful Britons turned to France. Germany's best friends in English public life, such as Chamberlain, at length were driven to hint that if Germany closed the door France and Russia might be more accommodating (p. 150).

This is the story of wasted opportunity which Friedrich Meinecke has to tell in his *Geschichte des Deutsch-Englischen Bündnisproblems, 1890-1901*. He tells it well, with an impartiality which would do credit to the historian of any nationality. Very interesting are some of his observations, such as the preference of Prussian conservatives for Russia rather than Britain (p. 234), and the greater insight shown by British statesmen as to the internal weakness of Austria-Hungary (pp. 242-245). The desire to become a great naval power, the fear of admitting western democratic influences, the fear of permanently alienating Russia, all

played their part in weakening German overtures for a British alliance (p. 260).

Although the ground covered by the book is not altogether new, and the author's conclusions are very much those reached by British and American students of the same problems, there is every reason to hope that it may soon be widely known in translation. Though prepared for a German audience the study is sufficiently objective to serve students of diplomacy anywhere. The lack of an index and of a bibliographical summary in the present edition is a defect which should be remedied in subsequent reissues or translations.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement. By G. D. H. Cole. Volume III. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1927. pp. 237. \$2.50.) Mr. Cole has been very skillful in reducing to order and proportion the complex details of industrial problems and political movements that constitute British Labor history since the opening of the century. This volume begins with the permeation of the movement by the moderate socialism of the Fabian Society and the Independent Labor Party. A sketch of the former is inserted to make good the omission in the second volume, where it properly belongs (cf. *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII, 869-870). It deals with the Taff Vale case, which "made" the Labor Party, the co-operation with Liberalism in the House of Commons, the unrest in the days immediately preceding the war, and the problems faced by the workers in war-time. Following the armistice the author sees three periods in the history of the working classes. The first, 1918-1920, is one of great apparent prosperity with labor on the offensive. Most of the big unions engage in strikes, and councils of action prevent Great Britain lending armed support to Poland against Russia. A slump follows, 1920-1924, with the offensive in the hands of the employers, failure in strikes, and tumbling wages, but the political movements so prosper that in 1924 the party enjoys a brief term in office. The third period begins with Conservatism again in power. The workers turn once more to industrial action, not as in 1919 as a means of offense, but as a measure of defense in the face of renewed attacks on wages and conditions.

Throughout, Mr. Cole has tried for impartiality. Although he has been closely associated with the movement he describes and his sympathy is apparent, he is studiously fair, whether speaking of the judges in the Taff Vale case or the ineptitude of the labor leaders during the general strike. Evidently the limit of his tolerance is reached, however, when he describes Winston Churchill, "in command and thoroughly enjoying the scrap", during the general strike. Exception might be taken, moreover, to his condemnation of J. H. Thomas as dictatorial, merely because in 1921 he demanded that, if the miners expected assistance from their partners of the Triple Alliance, they must first hearken to their advice.

A few errors of detail have been noted. The *Daily Citizen* did not cease publication until June, 1915 (p. 76). Labor entered the Asquith

Coalition in May, 1915, and it was in August, 1917, that Arthur Henderson resigned from the War Cabinet (p. 121).

CARL F. BRAND.

Five Years in Turkey. By Liman von Sanders, General of Cavalry. (Annapolis, United States Naval Institute, 1927, pp. x, 326, \$3.50.) Liman von Sanders, an able and experienced German general, arrived in Turkey shortly before the World War began in 1914 and remained there until after the Armistice. In large part he controlled the destinies of the Turkish army, or commanded major contingents of it in the field, notably in the Gallipoli campaign and in Palestine in 1918, where he commanded the Turks against Allenby's British and Arab army.

Immediately upon his return to Germany he compiled from his diary a book of his recollections and experiences. He does not attempt a history of the war in Turkey. Neither does he attempt a study of any of the strategical or tactical conflicts in which he participated. Likewise, his references to internal political struggles are fragmentary and disconnected, although surely illuminating.

The author was not happy in Turkey. He came in frequent conflict with Enver, the dominant political factor, and even with prominent countrymen of his own who shared or disputed his responsibility through their connection with the German military commission in Turkey. On several occasions he offered his resignation or demanded his recall. His comments are perceptibly colored because of this bitterness. With due allowance for his animus or prejudice the historian will find much that has evidential value. In fact, the book derives its authentic character from the manner and time of its compilation. It will interest the general reader who is satisfied with a book of dramatic sidelights presented with small dramatic ability. The military reader interested in the technique of his profession will find very little except in the first chapter, in which the author's comments reveal the worthless character of an army that has no discipline or intelligent inspection.

Between the lines we read an essay on character. When this book was written Enver was still in power and Mustapha Kemal had scarcely emerged as a national figure of the first rank. With no thought of portraying the character of either, and probably with no premonition of the ultimate fate of the two men, the author's incidental statements point unmistakably to the persistent double-dealing, intrigue, and meanness that finally destroyed and discredited Enver. With the same perspicacity the author, in numerous references, reveals to us those finer and stronger traits of Mustapha Kemal to which we may ascribe his success in winning the confidence of the Turkish people and in restoring them to a respectable world position. Liman von Sanders despised and mistrusted Enver. For Mustapha Kemal he had great respect and affection. Enver's rise resulted from political enterprise and intrigue in peace, and some glamorous participation in "small war". Mustapha Kemal won his place and opportunity very much in the manner of General Grant. No activity

reveals human weakness more plainly and surely than does a major responsibility in a long and stern military campaign. The future biographer of Enver and Mustapha Kemal must study this book.

It is interesting to note that the author, although he commanded the Turkish army throughout the Palestine campaign, had apparently never heard much of Lawrence or his widely advertised activities.

The translator is one of the two men in America best qualified to translate a German military work.

A. W. B.

Documents of Russian History, 1914-1917. By Frank Alfred Golder, Stanford University. Translated by Emanuel Aronsberg. [Century Historical Series.] (New York and London, Century Company, 1927, pp. xvi, 663. \$4.00.) The mass of material on these years of war and revolution for Russia is enormous; the problem of selection has been handled with excellent judgment. The author shows clearly a close personal contact with the period, as well as a thorough study of its documents. Here also one has an evidence of the value of the War Collection at Stanford, with which the author has been actively associated.

For several chapters, to give the framework for the documents selected, memoirs of active participants in the political life of the period have been used. These memoirs are in themselves documents. In other instances the author supplies a summary of the problem covered by the particular chapter. Here the statements on certain controversial points are necessarily short and therefore perhaps too positive. In one instance, where the Kornilov "affair" of the summer of 1917 is summarized, there is also a tendency to speculate. But on the whole these necessary introductory notes show a careful weighing of all the evidence. It was presumably a mere slip of the pen to have the Russian public leaders discussing the Fourteen Points in the summer of 1917. That was indeed the time when every effort was being made by the new leaders, after the March Revolution, to secure such a statement of the war aims of the Allies.

The volume makes available in excellent translation by Mr. Aronsberg many documents of which only extracts or summaries could be found except in the Russian original. It was necessary to go far and wide, to all sorts of publications, official and private, to secure the full text of this or that basic document. The student will find material on, and perhaps the answer to, many of the questions raised by Russia's participation in the war on the side of the Allies, and more particularly by the two revolutions of 1917. The headings of some of the chapters will indicate what is meant, such as "Government by the Empress", or "The Provisional Government Tries to Lean on the Bourgeoisie". The last chapter-headings are: "The Provisional Government Tries to Lean on the Democracy" and "How the Bolsheviks Came into Power".

In the preface the author announces that other volumes of documents are to follow, relating to the next periods of the Revolution and also to

particular topics such as agriculture. With respect to these future volumes the author asks for suggestions, explaining that "we are feeling our way".

S. N. H.

State Security and the League of Nations. By Bruce Williams, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in the University of Virginia. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1927.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1927, pp. x, 346, \$2.75.) The introduction and first two chapters of this book contain a brief but illuminating discussion of four alleged rights of sovereign states, namely, those of self-preservation, intervention, neutrality, and the waging of war. Chapters III. to VI., inclusive, which constitute the Albert Shaw Lectures proper, afford a careful and useful study of Articles X. and XVI. of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the Geneva Protocol, and the Locarno Pact. This study is made in that objective and judicial spirit which becomes the true historian, and which alone permits the development and clear presentation of the problems for the solution of which the historic struggle has been made.

The two foremost problems discussed, and the two which are foremost to-day in the relations between nations, are the problem of enforcing international obligations and the problem of including within those obligations the peaceful settlement of *all* international disputes. Our author believes that with the advent of the League of Nations "there was transferred from the national to the international sphere the concept of penalties for the violation of accepted legal rules"; and that, at the same time, there has become more pressing than ever before the question of "the category of interests which should be left to the reserved domain of states and those which are the proper subjects of international control".

The aspect of the discussion which is the most interesting and important to American readers, and perhaps to thoughtful people everywhere, is the relation of the United States to the new international developments. While our country is sincerely devoted to peaceful settlement, it is not willing at present to include *all* disputes within treaties of arbitration, or to accept an arbitral summons by *one* party to the dispute—although in the relations between the states of our Union we have done both. Again, having excluded from our Constitution the right of the federal government to coerce the states, we are not willing to join with other governments in the "mutual assistance", "collective guaranties", etc., which have been developed by the League of Nations and the Locarno Pact for the military or economic coercion of states, even though these states may be recalcitrant in the fulfillment of international obligations. And, finally, with our historic American views of the rights and duties of neutrals, we are considered a grave potential obstacle to the enforcement of international obligations by the League of Nations itself.

While these difficulties plainly emerge from our author's pages, he does not of course discuss them exhaustively; and perhaps the chief defect of his discussion is his relative neglect of the problem of national armaments and the argument based on *justice* (as well as expediency) which led the founders of our Union to disarm the states so that judicial settlement might succeed.

WILLIAM I. HULL.

Les Castes dans l'Inde: les Faits et le Système. Par Émile Senart. Membre de l'Institut. New edition. (Paris, Geuthner, 1927, pp. viii, 245, 40 fr.) This is a reprint, without change except for the addition of a new *avertissement*, of the first edition, published in 1896. While the bibliography of the subject has grown greatly since that time, the author rightly felt that nothing had been published which invalidated his views or made a statement of them less important. Their importance lies in the light they throw on the history and particularly the origins of the caste system. Senart distinguishes sharply between two terms and concepts which are regarded as equivalent by the brahmanical theorists, and by most modern scholars: *varṇa* and *jāti*. Both are commonly taken to mean "caste". But Senart, with good historic evidence to back him, argues that *varṇa* means "social class", and *jāti* "caste". These are two very different things. The one occurs everywhere; the other only in India. The brahmanical system recognized four "classes", *varṇa*, and speculatively identified them with the supposedly "original" castes. In fact, not only were true castes in India never so limited in number, but the four *varṇas*, which very likely corresponded (if only roughly) to real social divisions, had nothing to do with the realities of caste, except in late times and as a result of the brahmanical theory, and then only to a very limited extent.

Castes, properly speaking, according to Senart, developed primarily out of the Indo-European family-clan organization, brought into India by the Aryan invaders. The development into true castes took place on Indian soil, and was due to specifically Indian conditions. Prominent among these was the lack of political organization which characterized ancient India. Clear traces of the same family-clan groups, attended by the same religio-legal aspects and by the same restrictions of social intercourse and especially of marriage which characterize Indian castes, are found among other Indo-European peoples, notably in ancient Greece and Rome. But the political units which developed there, the city and the state, gradually suppressed them by taking over their religious, legal, and social functions. In India, where there were no states and hardly any cities such as we find in Greece and Rome, they persisted and grew into the hierarchy of castes, modified of course by many local influences, among them the brahmanical theories.

Senart's views have not received as much attention as they seem to this reviewer to deserve. No other theory of the origin of caste has been proposed which fits the known facts as well. It is to be hoped that

this reissue of his book will tend to bring its thesis into more general acceptance. Unhappily the distinguished author has died since its publication. He was the dean of French Indianists, and his profound learning and luminous intellect have left a permanent mark on Indological studies the world over.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

Christophe Colomb, Catalan: la Vraie Genèse de la Découverte de l'Amérique. Par Luis Ulloa. (Paris, Maisonneuve Frères, 1927, pp. 404, 35 fr.) According to Señor Ulloa, Columbus was a Catalan noble and corsair, named Juan Colom, related to the Admiral Guillaume Casenove Coullom. Under Coullom, Columbus fought for Duke René of Anjou in the Catalan insurrection against the father of Ferdinand the Catholic. In 1476, after the insurrection, Columbus was shipwrecked near Lisbon, while attacking some Genoese vessels. The following year, under the name of Joannes Skolnus, he served in a Danish exploring expedition beyond Iceland. From this exploration Columbus conceived the idea that Asia, of which Greenland was considered part, was not far distant, west of Europe. Changing his name to Xristoferens and concealing his past career under the guise of a foreigner, he sought the support of Ferdinand for a westward voyage to Asia. The contract was signed, supposedly with Castile and Aragon jointly. Ferdinand, however, understood his real identity, limited his contract to Castile, and thereby prepared the basis for voiding the contract. Meanwhile Peter Martyr wrote that Columbus was a Genoese. Later Giustiniani made current the Genoese legend.

Ulloa's evidence, although very interesting, can hardly be accepted as proof that Juan Colom was Christopher Columbus. It seems improbable that a Catalan noble would dare to return to Aragon and seek the high titles Columbus demanded, without expecting such an investigation of his past life as would reveal his true identity. That Columbus was a Genoese was stated positively by his contemporaries, among others—ignoring all of later date than 1508—by Peter Martyr, Michele de Cuneo, Pedro de Ayala, Andrés Bernaldez, Nicolo de Canerio, the maker of the map known as Kunstmann no. 3, Francisco Roselli, Martin Waldseemüller, and the author of *Paesi Novamente Ritrovati*. Contemporaries throughout Western Europe believed that Columbus was a Genoese. Moreover, Michele de Cuneo implied the name Christopher Columbus by using the form *Xpoforo Colūbo Genuensi*.

GEORGE E. NUNN.

The Pageant of America. Volume IV., *The March of Commerce.* By Malcolm Keir. Volume VI., *The Winning of Freedom.* By William Wood and Ralph Henry Gabriel. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1927, pp. 361, 366.) Nine volumes of *The Pageant of America* have now been published, out of the fifteen projected. In previous reviews, in volumes XXXII. and XXXIII., pages 326-328, 663-664, of

this *Review*, the general plan, merits, and defects of the project have been set forth, and much the same criticisms apply to the volumes before us.

These two volumes illustrate the broad conception of history prevalent in recent years. The first contains an important chapter on American economic development; the second harks back to the now somewhat neglected military aspect of history.

The March of Commerce contains seventeen chapters illustrating colonial commerce, the old merchant marine, roads, stage-coaches, mail stages, canals, Mississippi River traffic and boats, steamboats and steamships, railroads and their builders, express companies, ocean and lake commerce, modes of river and canal traffic, post-office, telegraph, telephone, radio, mediums of exchange, banking, automobiles, and aviation. The story covers the whole period from Columbus to Lindbergh. This volume has, besides illustrations of the evolution of various means of conveyance, many maps, charts, diagrams, posters, tickets, time-tables, and portraits. Particularly interesting is chapter XVI., "A Nation on Wheels", with pictures of early models of automobiles. The text and notes are, as usual, illuminating and interesting.

The Winning of Freedom, with sixteen chapters, portrays the wars of the United States on land and sea, Indian, French, Spanish, those of the Revolution and 1812, and that with Mexico. Illustrations are given of tactics and weapons, of proclamations, maps, muster-rolls, uniforms (in colors), plans of forts, etc. The military aspect of the Revolutionary War is given in great detail, from the battle of Lexington through the peace of 1783, with a separate chapter on sea power in the Revolution. The principal campaigns are given in detail with many plans of battles, portraits of generals, etc.

These volumes are well up to the high standard of those previously issued, and, when studied in connection with the *American Life* series, will probably further stimulate the movement for the "New History".

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

Mayan and Mexican Origins. By Leo Wiener, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature in Harvard University. (Cambridge, privately printed, 1926, pp. 204, and 126 plates, \$60.00.) Professor Wiener tells us in his preface that the publication of this sumptuous volume is due to the generosity of Hon. John B. Stetson, jr., United States minister to Poland. It is a very handsome volume, the plates being mostly reproductions in color from Aztec and Mayan codices. The edition is of only 300 copies. The text is very difficult reading, crowded with details, especially of words in languages of African tribes, synonymous, philologically connected, or declared to be connected. The wanderer through this African jungle can not see clear lines of argument, but he sees everywhere a matchless self-confidence. It is assumed that all the positions taken in the author's *Africa and the Discovery of America*, which in the main have not commended themselves to more sober philologists, have

been perfectly established once for all. "Unquestionably", says the author in his preface, "the archaeological dogs will continue to bay at the moon and will pursue the same vociferous methods as in the past, in order to suppress the search for the truth with noise where reason fails, forgetful that the truth, wherever it be, will shine forth without such vocal emphasis." Abhorrence of vocal emphasis is however not always perceptible elsewhere in the volume. There are, in the dozen essays which compose it, several interesting discussions, for instance of the genesis of traders' jargons, and many ingenious comparisons and approximations of word to word. The author's belief that Mayan and Mexican civilization derives from that of the Mandingos and their associates, ultimately from the Arabs, receives some additional evidence. Maya chronology is discussed with some acuteness and much acrimony.

The Luna Papers: Documents relating to the Expedition of Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano in the Conquest of La Florida in 1559-1561. Translated and edited with an historical introduction by Herbert Ingram Priestley, Ph.D., Professor of Mexican History and Librarian of the Bancroft Library in the University of California at Berkeley. [Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, no. 8.] Volume I. (De Land, the Society, 1928, pp. lxxvii, 271.) Although the expedition which Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain, sent out in 1559-1561 under the command of Tristán de Luna for the occupation of Florida was unsuccessful, its history is of value as illustrating that viceroy's large plans for conducting the struggle with France for the control of North America. The present volume, and the volume II. which is to follow, contain all the documents on the subject which have been found in the Archive of the Indies at Seville—in the present volume fifty documents in all, including Velasco's instructions, eleven of his letters, and seventeen documents in the struggle between Luna and his insubordinate followers—for, in Spanish practice, even a mutiny could not be conducted properly without the making out of formal documents. The texts are reproduced with great care, and Dr. Priestley's translations and annotations are all that could be desired. His learned introduction reviews the preceding Spanish efforts in Florida and the biography of Luna, and gives a detailed history of the expedition, from its departure, and its early ruin by a hurricane in Pensacola Bay, through its wanderings and bickerings in Alabama, to its final collapse in Mobile Bay and the removal of Luna from his governorship. The order in which the documents are presented is subject to criticism. They "have been left in the exact order in which they came from the transcriber, for reasons that appear valid"—to the editor, but, the reviewer would fear, hardly to the reader, who would surely prefer either a chronological or a rational order.

The History of the Regicides in New England. By Lemuel A. Welles. (New York, Grafton Press, 1927, pp. 139, \$5.00.) The author's avowed purpose is to replace the older accounts of the regicides, now

rare and comparatively inaccessible, with a new and complete narrative of the experiences of the distinguished refugees. He has depended chiefly on printed colonial records, on collections of historical societies, and on local tradition which he seems to value almost as highly as documentary evidence. No use has been made of material in British archives.

The first three chapters deal with the lives of the three regicides in England and their share in the revolution down to the Restoration in 1660. The next thirteen narrate their escape to New England and wanderings there, and incidentally reveal some interesting features of Puritan psychology. The conclusion is disappointing in that no attempt is made to bring out the historical significance of the material presented, but instead, the lives of the regicides and the Good Samaritan treatment accorded them are held up to the reader as illustrating two sterling virtues of the Puritans—devotion to principle and courage.

The author has not taken advantage of the possibilities in this subject for making a study of England's attitude toward party Puritanism in New England or its influence on the policy of the mother country toward the colonies harboring the regicides; but he has concentrated his entire attention on presenting all the legends and facts connected with these striking figures who have captured the imagination of readers for two centuries and a half. The result is a compendium which a writer of local history or historical fiction on the subject would do well to consult, but for the historian it adds nothing in the way of a new interpretation of what was, after all, merely a minor episode in New England history.

VIOLA F. BARNES.

The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina. By Arthur Henry Hirsch, Ph.D., Professor of American History in Ohio Wesleyan University. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1928, pp. xvi, 338, \$5.00.) This is a carefully prepared and well-written account of the Huguenot settlements in colonial South Carolina. Dr. Hirsch has made a careful study of the subject both in England and in America and in particular has gone through a large amount of hitherto unused manuscript material.

The book is divided into twelve chapters and also has a most interesting appendix including quaint letters which throw much light upon life, religion, and economic conditions of the early colonial period. The first six chapters describe the exodus of Huguenots before and after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, their settlement at Charles Town and elsewhere in South Carolina, the French Protestant churches, and various political and religious rivalries—especially the fight over the Church Act of 1706. The energy of the Huguenots in establishing themselves and in founding their churches is well depicted. We are told that assimilation by the numerically stronger English element was rapid although at first not easy. It is interesting to learn that the passage of the famous Church Act of 1706, which established the Church of England in the colony, was due to the support given the Anglicans by the Hugue-

nots, owing to their estrangement from the powerful Dissenter party. This estrangement explains why most of the French Protestants became Episcopalians although their form of religion was much closer to that of the Dissenters.

The last six chapters deal with the economic and cultural progress of the French settlers. That they were a thrifty industrious folk is proven by their rapid advance from poverty to wealth. They adapted themselves to frontier conditions, furnished leaders in commercial and plantation enterprises, played a prominent part in the life of the colony, and yet failed to establish their own civilization or make their religion a vigorous one. They were active in business, and in rice, wine, and indigo growing, and promoted culture in the colony. Some of the Huguenot families soon became wealthy and influential and have remained so ever since.

Dr. Hirsch describes the emigration to America of a sturdy, enterprising people who constituted a leaven to their new home. That they should have been rapidly anglicized was natural and inevitable. But they benefitted Carolina by their energy and contributed to the development of the colony.

The book is interestingly written, admirably illustrated, and deserves the attention of students of the colonial period.

D. HUGER BACOT.

John Paul Jones; Man of Action. By Phillips Russell. (New York, Brentano, 1927, pp. x, 314, \$5.00.) In the afterword of this volume the author says of history: "It is when she declares she is wholly objective that she is so subjective as to deserve the attentions of psychoanalysts. Pretending to be a detached observer, she is frequently the advocate, propagandist, and even *agent provocateuse* [!]. Asserting her lofty, if not divine, origin, she reveals herself as all too human."

The chief characteristic of this book is, that it is subjective to a degree and "all too human". In it the quality of picturesqueness is, to put it mildly, strained. Conversations carried on in the thick and the din of battle are given in the first person, as if a stenographer had been present to set them down as they fell from the lips of the desperate and bleeding heroes. Imaginative poses and gestures are hazarded. The chapters of the work are headed by verses from *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, and the abominable and for the most part historically worthless illustrations give the finishing touches to a book of the ultra-modern, somewhat sensational kind, at which the historian instinctively shies, but which the admirers of Sabatini and Ludwig will read with pleasure. This does not mean that historical facts are perverted, or that the reader will not receive a vivid and in the main correct impression of John Paul Jones, whom the author calls a "man of action" with more justice than is employed by those who insist that the naval hero was the "father of the American Navy".

E. B.

The Economic History of the United States. By Harold U. Faulkner, Associate Professor of History in Smith College. [The World Today Bookshelf.] (New York, Macmillan Company, 1928, pp. xiv, 301, \$1.50.) It is not an easy task to pack into a small book of some three hundred pages an intelligible and connected account of the economic development of the United States, but Professor Faulkner has managed to do this in very acceptable fashion. He has condensed his larger work, *American Economic History*, published in 1924, and has apparently added nothing to this except the titles of a few new books. The work of condensing and summarizing has, however, been skillfully done and the reader is given an adequate picture of the major movements in our economic growth. The salient features alone are selected for treatment and annoying statistics and factual details are minimized; the story therefore moves with a sweep and a vigor which is often lacking in a more authoritative and documented work. The author is not often tempted into incautious statements, but the sweeping generalizations sometimes call for modification or correction.

Professor Faulkner selects for emphasis the more striking features of our economic history, and in his desire to make a dramatic story out of it tends at times to minimize the importance of the less colorful aspects. The historian is ever prone to fall before this temptation, but the economic historian should be the last to yield; it is his peculiar task to chronicle the daily activities of the people in earning their livings. This would seem to be an especially appropriate task for a volume published in a series formerly known as the Workers' Bookshelf. The books in this series are written for the busy general reader who wishes his information purveyed in predigested tabloid form, but a few of them, including the one under review, may serve in a crowded curriculum as an introduction to an important field.

E. L. BOGART.

American Foreign Policies: an Examination and Evaluation of Certain Traditional and Recent International Policies of the United States. By James Wilford Garner, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Science in the University of Illinois. [James Stokes Lectureship on Politics, New York University.] (New York, New York University Press, 1928, pp. viii, 264, \$6.00.) The lectures here presented to the wider public were not intended to increase that public's sense of smugness and self-satisfaction. Elaborately documented, with an almost formidable apparatus of scholarship, they constitute a severe indictment of the nation's foreign policy. Admitting the truth of this indictment, the reservation somehow grows that the defendant should be human nature itself rather than merely these United States.

The seven lectures proceed from "Influencing Factors and Conditions" through the "Traditions of Isolation and Non-Intervention", "Imperialism and 'Dollar Diplomacy'", "The Monroe Doctrine as a Contribution", "The American Contribution to the Advancement of

Arbitration and Judicial Settlement of International Differences", to "Co-operation and Non-Co-operation with the League of Nations", and "As Others See Us".

The author makes an excellent case against the national tendency to convert into a shibboleth the isolationist warnings of the Fathers. He takes a timely fling also at America's vaunted conviction of her moral superiority. And he wisely questions whether democracies are essentially more pacific than their neighbors. "Twisting the lion's tail" is no evidence of a love of peace. A polyglot democracy is peculiarly subject to the prejudices of its divergent origins. Commercial and industrial supremacy has not overcome provincial tendencies and a cultivated insularity. On the other hand, the policy of isolation "has so often been departed from in practice that it has lost much of its binding force".

The author goes to extremes in his denunciation of the Mexican War. Nor will all historians accept his hostile verdict on the war with Spain. Recent expansion in the Caribbean is deprecated. The Monroe Doctrine is interestingly discussed, with praise for the original, and disapproval of resulting corollaries.

The United States is represented as a pioneer in arbitration, an unhappy exception being the Roosevelt negotiations over the Alaskan boundary. Senatorial opposition to the World Court—a regression from earlier American attitudes—is an outgrowth of the partizan quarrel concerning the League of Nations, a membership in which, the author intimates, at one time had the undoubted approbation of the American electorate.

"As Others See Us" is a picture of almost universal hate and mistrust, deserved, no doubt, but one may question whether all this hate is creditable to the haters, who are possibly as human as ourselves.

However one may seek to palliate our conduct or to mitigate the author's verdict, these lectures can be unreservedly commended to all chauvinists within the body politic.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1922. Volume II., The Austin Papers, edited by Eugene C. Barker. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1928, pp. 1184.) The first part of the papers of Moses Austin and of Stephen F. Austin was printed by the Association in two volumes, 1800 pages, of its *Annual Report* for 1919. It embraced all the papers in the Austin Collection possessed by the University of Texas from 1789 to the end of 1827. The present volume gives those dated from January 1, 1828, to September 30, 1834. The remainder, running from October, 1834, to December, 1836, have already been published in a separate volume by the University. It may be said on the one hand that it is a pity that circumstances should have compelled such a dichotomy, and on the other hand that 3000 pages of Austin Papers is a good deal. Many of the letters printed are of minimal

importance. Nearly all those of Austin himself, however, deserve preservation. Many of them reveal a genuine statesman, and a man of high and loyal character, the record of whose fidelity to Mexico, to the end of the present portion of his correspondence, is made doubly impressive by the fact that from February 13 to December 25, 1834, he was detained in a prison in the city of Mexico. Most of the letters are in English, many in Spanish. A considerable number have been obtained from the Williams Papers in the Rosenberg Library in Galveston. The paper used for the book is obviously inferior to that used hitherto for the *Annual Reports* of the Association.

Matthew Fontaine Maury, Pathfinder of the Seas. By Charles Lee Lewis, Associate Professor, United States Naval Academy. (Annapolis, United States Naval Institute, 1927, pp. xviii, 264, \$6.00.) America's great pioneer in the physical geography of the sea and the physics of the air has at last found an adequate biographer. Professor Lewis's readable and scholarly study portrays a life rich in human interest and filled with achievement of vital importance to sailors and fliers. In these days of revived interest in our merchant marine and popular enthusiasm for aeronautics, this biography of the great student of winds and currents should attract a wide circle of readers.

In revealing Maury as a lovable and inspiring man, who educated himself despite difficulties and triumphed over physical disability, Professor Lewis has achieved distinct success. Here he was helped by the *Life* by Diana Fontaine Maury Corbin, printed in London in 1888, which must still be consulted for numerous letters not elsewhere reproduced. Careful and prolonged research by Professor Lewis has brought to light much important new material from the Maury Papers, deposited in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, from the archives of the Naval Observatory and of the Navy Department, and several other public and private collections. He pays due heed to Maury's advocacy of reforms in naval education and administration, his work as a lecturer and author of popular geographies, his fruitful suggestions concerning land meteorology and the Atlantic cable, and his attempts to develop Southern commerce and to interest Americans in trade with Latin America. Chief attention, however, is rightly paid to his pioneer work in oceanography: his wind and current charts and his *Physical Geography of the Sea*.

Following his native state, Virginia, out of the Union, Commander Maury made important improvements in the use of submarine mines, and pressed on the Confederate authorities a project for small wooden gunboats carrying large guns. Here Professor Lewis does scant justice to Secretary Mallory, whose views as to the proper building policy for the Confederate Navy were far sounder than Maury's. A more satisfactory account of Maury's mission to England might have resulted, if use had been made of *Het Leven van een Vloothouder, Gedenkschriften* by M. H. Jansen, with fuller use of the second series of the *Official Records of the*

Union and Confederate Navies. In the account of Maury's work as a colonizer in Mexico, Count Corti's *Maximilian und Charlotte von Mexiko* seems to have been overlooked.

Few errors have been noted. Great Britain was not "violating her treaty with this government" (p. 37) by strengthening her forts on the Great Lakes. "Amundson" (p. 82), "Stoeckle" (p. 164), "H.M.S. Immortality" (p. 170), "may" (p. 195), and "Corlotta" (p. 198), should be printed "Amundsen", "Stoeckl", "H.M.S. Immortalité", "my", and "Carlotta". This attractively printed volume has a foreword by Commander Richard E. Byrd, U. S. Navy (Retired), and an index.

JAMES P. BAXTER, 3D.

Varina Howell, Wife of Jefferson Davis. By Eron Rowland (Mrs. Dunbar Rowland). Volume I. (New York, Macmillan, 1927, pp. xvii, 499, \$4.00.) Anyone who has made a study of the Civil War from the Confederate standpoint is convinced that Mrs. Jefferson Davis was a woman of considerable importance, not only because she probably sometimes influenced her husband's decisions but also because, through her strong personality, she influenced people to do to Jefferson Davis things they would not have done to him except for his wife. Mrs. Davis's *Memoirs* of her husband, in two large volumes, is either a proof of her considerable intellectual ability or it is a great mystery. The reviewer assumes that she had not undue assistance in the preparation of the two volumes and consequently accepts the view that she was a woman of considerable ability, and since not a great deal is generally known about her life, other than as it is connected with that of her famous husband, the preparation of a biography would seem to be quite well worth while.

Mrs. Rowland, the author of the present volume, is the wife of Dr Dunbar Rowland of the state Department of Archives and History of Mississippi who edited, in recent years, a rather complete collection of Davis's speeches and writings. Presumably Mrs. Rowland had access to about as complete a collection of material relating to Mrs. Davis as can be had. The present volume carries the story of Mrs. Davis's life to the beginning of the Civil War and will, presumably, be followed soon by another one. The forty-four chapters of volume I. contain some very interesting things, among them a too brief account of the migration of people from the Carolinas, Virginia, New England, etc., into the Southwest, particularly into the Natchez district where they found already the Spanish and French settlers. The story of the development of the Natchez community in the early nineteenth century hints the social differences between Whigs and Democrats, between Baptists and Episcopalians, and between planters and farmers in that new country. More of this thing would have been welcome.

The author is an admirer of Mrs. Davis and has evidently made extensive researches to discover all that can be discovered about her. But

if one may judge from the material cited and the foot-note references, it would seem that the work is based too much upon tradition. "Conversations with descendants of contemporaries", "confidences of girlhood friends", and similar reminiscences of old ladies, etc., are likely to be very interesting and of some value, but the constructive imagination needs the restraining influence of documents, collections of family letters, etc. So in the opinion of the reviewer too much reliance is placed upon tradition for the earlier years, and after Mrs. Davis's career reaches the stage where the *Memoirs* can be used, too much is based upon that source. I wonder if there are not more letters and documents available than the author indicates. There is too much insistence upon Mrs. Davis's love for Jefferson Davis, which, after being mentioned once, may be accepted as a fact. There is also too much about Jefferson Davis himself since the story is to be about his wife.

The story as we have it, however, is a rather interesting account of a very able lady, of Eastern origin and of frontier upbringing, frank, open, rather blunt in her manners, who was to become the only first lady of the Confederacy. The publishers are probably at fault for not giving sufficient attention to the proof-reading. While the book suffers from the difficulties mentioned above, which may or may not have been unavoidable, it is, nevertheless, the interesting story of a very interesting woman. But when the next volume is published, it is to be hoped that it will contain more about Mrs. Davis in her really historical period and less about her husband.

The Problem of a World Court: the Story of an Unrealized American Idea. By David Jayne Hill. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1927, pp. xxvi, 204, \$1.75.) The author of this book served as Assistant Secretary of State under John Hay and wrote, as he informs us, for the American delegation at the first Hague conference, the instructions recommending an international court of justice. He gave a series of lectures on world organization at Columbia in 1910, and has long been known as an advocate of steps toward organizing the world for justice, but he wishes this result without any sacrifice of the sovereignty of states, especially of the United States. He wants a world court and an international law entirely in accord with the wishes of his own country. The idea of a court of international justice, he writes, "was implicitly wrapped up in the essential nature of American institutions" (p. 8, also p. 153). This parallels the statement by the distinguished jurist Kohler in 1915 that international law can only be developed by "German science, for German science alone has been able to work in a systematic fashion". Both jurists reject compromise and conciliation as a basis of law and each presents the notion which he attributes to his own state as an ultimatum.

The United States in recent years has often attempted to negotiate by the presentation of ultimatums—never more than in the World Court controversy, and Dr. Hill presents the philosophy of this attitude. He recon-

ciles law and sovereignty by defining the latter not as "will to control" but "freedom to consent". "So far then", he continues, "is consent to law from being a surrender of sovereignty that it is precisely in the freedom of consent that the sovereignty of a people really consists" (p. 10). But this freedom to consent is also freedom to reject. There is no moral, much less legal, duty to compromise for the sake of agreement. As a natural corollary the only international law is that based on express agreements or treaties. So-called "general principles of jurisprudence" are not law but guides to legislation. International customs are "a junk heap of antiquated and perverted forms of justice" (p. 175).

Dr. Hill does not carry his analysis far enough. If express consent is the only ultimate source of law, why is there any legal obligation to abide by your own agreements? Treitschke answered logically enough that there is none. The result is the disappearance of international law.

With the details of Dr. Hill's application of his philosophy to the World Court controversy we can not enter more than to note that he likes neither the Court nor the League, perhaps partly for the reason that the latter by its covenant puts peace ahead of justice. "There may be peace without justice", he says, but does not go into the question whether it is ever possible to have justice without peace (p. 35).

The book will furnish good ammunition for propagandists against these two institutions. Of constructive suggestions for advancing either international peace or justice it contains about as much as a certain mother's advice to a daughter wishing to swim, which he quotes with apparent approval as characterizing the Senate's attitude on the World Court (p. 75). Dr. Hill and perhaps the Senate wish Uncle Sam to promote both peace and justice, but at the moment that elderly gentleman's clothes are hanging on a hickory limb and he is not near the water.

QUINCY WRIGHT.

The Life of Thomas E. Watson. By William W. Brewton. (Atlanta, the author, 1926, pp. xiv, 408, \$3.50.) One who has read this book could never deny the right of Thomas E. Watson to a place well towards the edge of Theodore Roosevelt's "lunacy fringe". The temperamental small boy who "got mad" and fought incessantly, sometimes even drawing a knife; the ardent wooer of many maids, who fashioned quantities of execrable poetry, and between love attacks read much of the world's best literature, and much of its worst; the mischievous and quarrelsome college student who was disliked by his fellows, but won notoriety as a debater, an orator, and a "history hog" (p. 53); the rising young lawyer whose success in carrying juries and public for his clients in spite of the evidence became almost a scandal; the boyish temperance worker who so degenerated with the passing of time as to receive in his later years "regular shipments of very fine, expensive wines from California, in vinegar casks" (p. 360); the aspiring politician who got to the legislature and to Congress by means of Democratic support, and then turned to "bite the hand that fed him"; the incomparable third-partyite, eternal

friend of the under-dog, who lent a hand to every far-fetched scheme for reform, and himself invented not a few; the writer of sentimental history and biography who was wont to labor all night long at his task and in the morning turn to his couch "from a manuscript wet with tears" (p. 286); the yellow journalist who printed the most abominable gossip about his enemies, stooped to the lowest billingsgate, and waged relentless warfare against the Roman Catholic Church, Protestant missions, and the League of Nations; the eccentric old man who hired a hall in Atlanta for seventy-five dollars in order that he might tell an audience how "the world is plunging hellward" (p. 324), who bought barking dogs that he might have them killed, who got himself arrested for trying to quiet a hotel lobby at night by direct methods, then went to jail rather than to give bond; all this, and more besides, was Watson.

But in spite of his shortcomings Watson deserved a better book. True, the real Tom Watson lives in these pages, but only, one is tempted to believe, because the author had not the wit to prevent it. The treasures that the Watson papers had to yield were too obvious. A bombastic and absurd style, an unbridled penchant for melodrama, and an almost total disregard of the economic conditions which made possible Watson's political career, manage to spoil the book. It was like Watson to choose as his official biographer a man pre-eminently unfit for the task.

JOHN D. HICKS.

British Emigration to British North America, 1783-1837. By Helen I. Cowan, M.A. [University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics, vol. IV., no. 2.] (Toronto, the University Library, 1928, pp. 275, \$2.00.) This study is doubly welcome. It records the history of the peopling of one section of North America, and it suggests the type of monograph that must be written before the significance of the human stream which in modern times has flowed from Europe to America is fully revealed.

The years between 1783 and 1837 constituted a definite period in the colonization of Canada. Before 1815, however, the immigration was irregular and composed principally of scattered groups of Scottish settlers. But with the coming of peace and the distress and unrest with which it was accompanied there began a movement which continued for twenty years and in which are reflected most of the contemporary public affairs.

Instead of following the conventional topical treatment of migration studies the author describes the movement chronologically, thereby illustrating how responsive population-changes were to the course of these public affairs. The events of the war in America had emphasized the need of a stronger military population in Canada, and in the years 1815-1821 immigrants were subsidized and placed upon lands of strategic location. In 1823 and again in 1825, an attempt was made to calm the turbulent Irish situation by bringing several hundreds of South Irishmen from the disturbed centres. The publicity attending these experiments culminated in an effort under the leadership of R. J. Wilmot-Horton to secure a comprehensive scheme of state-aided emigration. The effort

failed but the principle was adopted in the Poor Law Act of 1834. In the meantime the outward flow had been increasing and in the ten years 1826-1836 the success of the individual assisted emigrants, the increasing trade connections, the more extended banking facilities, and the skillful advertising and practical aid of the large land companies brought to Canada so many tens of thousands that the decade is described as the era of the "great emigrations". The story of this rising movement is clearly and graphically told, the details being drawn principally from the manuscript sources once contained in the "Emigration Room" of the Colonial Office.

But history written from the archives of administrative departments tends to become the history of the administration of a movement instead of the history of the movement itself, and this tendency is illustrated in these pages. For, although it is stated that the number of emigrants who were subsidized amounted to no more than one-tenth of the total, only two of the eleven chapters are devoted to the other nine-tenths. This is the more to be regretted in view of the interesting suggestion that the theories of empire and settlement promulgated in the 'thirties were not new principles but merely the statement "of the method by which the voluntary, penniless emigrant had long been making his way in the American colonies" (p. 246).

This investigation of the experiments in colonization, of the debates regarding a positive emigration policy, of the details of parish and individual assistance, of the legal and humanitarian aspects of the regulation of the passenger trade, was well worth doing. It is to be hoped that in the future the methods employed by the voluntary, penniless emigrants, which were also the methods employed by the emigrants to the United States, will receive as thorough and able historical treatment.

MARCUS L. HANSEN.

COMMUNICATIONS

To the Editor of the *American Historical Review*:

I have no desire to prolong the controversy with Professor Schmitt, but it is apparent that he has missed the whole point of my contribution and the only one which made it worth while for your journal to accord space to it. The issue at stake was not what Germany did or planned to do once war came, whether to invade Belgium, violate the Hague Convention or both. The problem up for discussion was solely one of responsibility for the coming of the War. The German case rests chiefly upon: (1) the allegation that Russia ordered her general mobilization, without military provocation on the part of Germany, two days before the German mobilization, and (2) the assumption that this Russian mobilization was a *casus belli* for Germany, to which she had to respond by an ultimatum and then by war if the ultimatum to Russia was rejected. Professor Schmitt contended upon the basis of several literary references that many influential Germans, particularly those of the military group, did not believe that the Russian general mobilization was a *casus belli* and that this attitude on their part showed that the German apologia in regard to war responsibility is untenable. I proved from conversations with eminent and authoritative Germans from both classes that there is not a shred of evidence to support Professor Schmitt's view and that all responsible groups in Germany in 1914 regarded the Russian general mobilization as a *casus belli*. Professor Schmitt concentrates his attention upon German conduct after a state of war existed, another matter altogether, having no relation whatever to war guilt. My only desire is to emphasize the fact that the universal German belief in the inevitability of war after the Russian general mobilization is a reality established for all time.

Readers not greatly concerned with the personal views of the writer or Professor Schmitt may, nevertheless, find something of interest in the following letter from his Excellency, Gottlieb von Jagow, former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the present writer on the question of the German reaction to Russian mobilization.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

My dear Professor Barnes:—

In regard to the question of the German declaration of war on Russia in 1914 and the reasons therefor, it occurred to me that I might supplement our conversation by the following summary statement of the essential facts.

After Russia's general mobilization had made the war inevitable, Germany could not wait until Russia had completed the mobilization of all her armies and threatened the German borders with them. Since, in view of the Russo-French Alliance, it could be expected with certainty that France would also take part in a German-Russian war, Germany would then have been exposed to a simultaneous attack on the East and West by Russia and France, and would have been crushed by the numerically superior forces of her enemies. Only swiftness of action could save us therefrom. The German plan of operation was based on this:—that is,

we wanted to conduct a defensive war in the East by means of an offensive against the West.

Against Russia itself we did not plan to proceed aggressively right off but intended first to render her allies harmless. From a purely military standpoint, therefore, a declaration of war against Russia would not have been absolutely necessary. We might have waited until war began of itself in the East. But for political-diplomatic reasons it was necessary to declare war on Russia.

The German plan of operation, as you know, provided for an offensive against France by going through Belgium. A war by us against France was caused solely by the war with Russia. We had no conflict with France, but one followed quasi automatically from a war with Russia, the ally of France. We therefore had to have the state of war with Russia. Otherwise, the military operations against France (with the march through Belgium) would have appeared before the world as a flagrant war of aggression, as an assault in the midst of peace. But if we were at war with Russia then we could direct the question to France as to whether she would remain neutral or would stand by her ally Russia. The evasive answer of France left no doubt of her intention.

Thus we were formally, to be sure, the aggressors but morally the attacked.

The view of many military men that we did not need to declare war against Russia completely overlooks the fact that the operations against the West which were to begin at once could only be motivated and diplomatically justified by the war with Russia.

GOTTLIEB VON JAGOW.

The Editor of the *American Historical Review*:

Sir: I am quite content to let the readers of the *American Historical Review* decide whether I "missed the whole point" of Mr. Barnes's communication. And I submit that the point of view expressed by me finds no little confirmation in the letter of Herr von Jagow to Mr. Barnes.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

HISTORICAL NEWS

With this number, Mr. J. F. Jameson concludes his service to the *American Historical Review* as managing editor. He takes this occasion to express his gratitude to all those friends of history who, from 1895 to the present time, have co-operated with him and with each other in maintaining the *Review* and its standards. Sailing to Europe in June, he requests that all future correspondence should be addressed to Professor D. C. Munro at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., which will continue to be the official address of the *Review*.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The same address, 1140 Woodward Building, will continue to be valid for the American Historical Association; the executive committee of the trustees of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has invited the Association and the *Review* to continue to occupy, at least until the end of 1929, rooms adjacent to those used by its Department of Historical Research.

The Government Printing Office has at last brought out vol. II. of the *Annual Report* for 1922, designated as vol. II. of the *Austin Papers*; it is reviewed on page 924.

Mr. Ivy Lee, of Princeton and New York, has kindly consented to take the chairmanship of the Committee on the Endowment, a position which has been vacant since the death of Senator Beveridge, although in the meantime Professors Greene and Bassett and Munro, vice-chairmen successively, have acted in lieu of the chairman.

The committee having in charge the "revolving fund" supplied to the Association by the Carnegie Corporation for the publication of meritorious historical books has accepted for publication a volume by Professor W. A. Heidel of Wesleyan University entitled *The Day of Jehovah: a Study of Sacred Days and Ritual Forms in the Ancient Near East*, one by Miss Ella Lonn of Goucher College on *Desertion during the Civil War*, and one by Professor Lowell J. Ragatz of the George Washington University on *The Fall of the West Indian Slave Power*. Volumes issued by means of this fund are to be published by the Century Company in uniform style. All three are now in the printer's hands.

The Governing Board of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, the editorial board of the International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography, and the special subcommittee on an International Historical Review, held meetings in Paris on May 24-26. The governing board gave preliminary consideration to a number of enterprises that will be laid before the full committee at its Oslo meeting in August. Among

these are a proposal to make a complete list or register of written constitutions since about 1775, with bibliographical and historical notes; a proposal to prepare a descriptive list of important newspapers of the last hundred years, annotated in such a way as to make clear the political or other orientations of each paper; a proposal to correct the standard manuals of chronology with a view to their ultimate revision; and a proposal to organize means of facilitating the translation of important historical works published in languages of small diffusion into one or another of the world languages.

In accordance with the recommendations of the special subcommittee on an International Historical Review (Friis, Copenhagen, chairman), it was decided to propose to the full committee, that the plan for establishing a Review should receive further study, but that no attempt should be made to found it at the present time. It was further agreed that the *Bulletin* of the International Committee should be enlarged as to scope and contents, with a view to making it indispensable to historians and to the editors of historical journals. Henceforth the reports of the meetings of the International Committee will be greatly abridged, but the section devoted to presenting information respecting historical organizations, congresses, enterprises, etc., will be expanded, and other sections will be added devoted to such matters as symposia on historical problems, corrections of the standard tools of research, and summaries of the present state of knowledge in various domains or on various questions.

The editorial board of the Yearbook of Bibliography reported that all the countries except Great Britain had furnished the cards constituting the record of their historical production in 1926, and that in general the work had been done in a most satisfactory manner, special commendation being given to the work done in the United States.

The governing board received and considered proposals for co-operation in an advisory capacity with enterprises in historical cinematography, and in the photographing of historical documents, objects, scenes, and pictures, for the purpose of providing a large reservoir of material useful for purposes of instruction.

No. 4 of the *Bulletin* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences contains an exceptional amount of matter useful to historians—matter relating to the International Congress of Historical Sciences at Oslo, interesting notes respecting the organization of historical workers and of historical bibliography in various countries, much material preparatory to the proposed manual list of ambassadors and other diplomatic representatives, a collection of information regarding the various historical atlases which are in preparation in different countries, and on the progress of iconography, and, finally, excellent reports of a half-dozen congresses of historical specialists of various sorts held in 1927 in Belgrade, Graz, Paris, Rome, and Warsaw. The *Bulletin* deserves to have a great many more American subscribers and therefore we mention that subscriptions are received by Faxon and Company, 83 Francis Street, Boston.

The ninth meeting of the Union Académique Internationale, held at Brussels on May 21-23, was attended by the representatives of thirteen out of the eighteen countries whose academies are affiliated with the Union. The representatives of the American Council of Learned Societies were Waldo G. Leland, its permanent secretary, and Professors Charles H. Beeson and William A. Nitze, both of the University of Chicago. Satisfactory progress was reported for most of the enterprises under way. Five new fascicles of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, contributed by France, Great Britain, Italy, and the Netherlands, as well as three additional classification pamphlets, have been published since the meeting of 1927. Vols. V. and VI. of the *Catalogue of Alchemical Manuscripts*, containing lists of manuscripts in Spain, Athens, and Great Britain and Ireland, have also appeared, as well as a volume devoted to *Les Celtes dans l'Art Greco-Romain*. A dictionary of the most important terms of Indonesian customary law was reported as ready for publication by Dr. C. van Vollenhoven, of the Royal Academy of Amsterdam. The catalogue of current bibliographies in the field of learning to which the Union is devoted was reported to have reached a stage that assured its completion before the assembly of 1929. The search for documents in European libraries and archives relating to Japanese history was reported as progressing rapidly, and the American member of the committee which is acting in an advisory capacity to the Imperial Academy of Tokyo agreed to seek information respecting possible material in the Philippine Islands, and to furnish, when it should be desired, information relating to material in depositories in the United States. Two new projects were considered by the assembly. One of them, presented by the Belgian Academy, has as its object the formulation of recommendations looking to the establishment of uniform practices among scholars in editing historical and literary documents. The proposal was referred to a committee of which Professor Henri Pirenne (Ghent) is chairman, the American member being Professor William A. Nitze (Chicago), for further study and for report to the assembly of 1929. The other proposal, presented by Professor C. Michalski, for the Polish Academy of Cracow, for the compilation of a corpus of medieval philosophical writers, will be formally discussed at the next assembly.

It had been hoped that the negotiations which the American, Dutch, and Norwegian members of the Union have been carrying on during the past year with the German and Austrian academies would have reached a point that would make possible the nomination and election of those academies to membership in the Union at the recent meeting. The German and Austrian academies have not yet, however, found it possible to assure the American, Dutch, and Norwegian members of their acceptance of membership in the Union, and those members accordingly did not feel authorized to place the academies in nomination.

The report of receipts and expenditures showed total net receipts in 1927 of 55,524 Belgian francs, with total net expenditures of 61,781

Belgian francs, the balance on hand on January 1, 1928, being 135,986 Belgian francs. In the election of president and vice-president for the three-year period commencing January 1, 1929, Sir Frederic Kenyon was chosen to succeed President De Sanctis (Turin) and Waldo G. Leland, permanent secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, to succeed Vice-President Edmond Pottier (Paris). The tenth assembly will be held in Brussels on May 13-15, 1929.

PERSONAL

Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima, Brazilian diplomat and historian, professor of international law in the Catholic University of America, died in Washington on March 24, at the age of sixty. He was the author of many historical writings in Portuguese, Spanish, and French. Among them may be mentioned *O Brazil e as Colonias Portuguezas* (Lisbon, 1877), *Historia Diplomatica do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1902), and *La Formation Historique de la Nationalité Brésilienne* (Paris, 1911). He was a genial scholar, as helpful and generous to others as he was learned. His extraordinary Ibero-American Library of 40,000 volumes was presented by him to the Catholic University some years ago.

Paul Sabatier, since 1919 professor of church history in the University of Strasbourg, died on March 4, at the age of sixty-nine. His *Vie de Saint François d'Assise* (1893), a work translated into many languages, and marked equally by scholarship, sympathetic insight, and beauty of style, gave a remarkable impetus to Franciscan studies. His discovery and publication of the *Speculum Perfectionis* (1898) and later of the *Actus B. Francisci et Sociorum ejus* (Latin original of the *Fioretti*), and the foundation in 1902 of the International Society of Franciscan Studies, were further landmarks in the development.

M. Désiré Pasquet, professor of history in the École Pratique des Hautes Études, pleasantly remembered by many American scholars from the time of his visit to the United States a few years ago, and whose *Histoire Politique et Sociale du Peuple Américain* (Paris, 1924) showed so astonishingly full and just a knowledge of our history, died on May 8, at the age of fifty-seven years.

We note the following promotions and appointments: *Smith College*, M. E. Curti to be associate professor of history; *Wesleyan University*, Alexander Thompson of New York University to be assistant professor of history; *Cornell University*, Carl Stephenson of the University of Wisconsin to be during the first semester visiting professor of medieval history, and F. G. Marcham to be assistant professor of English history; *Syracuse University*, Professor C. L. Goodwin of Mills College to teach during the coming year; *Hamilton College*, E. G. Graves to be associate professor of history; *New York University*, J. H. Park to be professor of history; *Columbia University*, P. J. Treat of Stanford University to be visiting professor of history during the spring of 1929, F. G. Barry

to be associate professor of the history of science, I. W. Raymond to be assistant professor of history in Columbia College, and Mary E. Townsend to be assistant professor of history in Teachers College; *Princeton University*, W. P. Hall to be professor of history and R. G. Albion to be associate professor; *Swarthmore College*, T. S. Anderson of Brown University to be assistant professor of history; *University of Illinois*, Livingston Porter of the University of California to be assistant professor of history; *University of Michigan*, H. M. Ehrman to be professor of Modern European history; *University of Wisconsin*, A. C. Cole of the University of Ohio to be visiting professor of history and W. L. Dorn to be assistant professor; *University of Minnesota*, E. L. Harvey of the University of Washington to be lecturer in history; *University of California*, R. J. Kerner of the University of Missouri to be professor of history, and D. C. Baker of Shantung Christian University to be assistant professor.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted in addition to those mentioned in our last two numbers: Professor Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University will teach in Cornell University; Professor U. B. Phillips of the University of Michigan in Columbia University; Professor Ralph P. Bieber of Washington University will teach in the University of Kansas for the first six weeks; Professor Louis M. Sears of Duke University in the University of Nebraska; Professor J. F. Baldwin of Vassar College in the University of Colorado; and Professor J. W. Thompson of the University of Chicago in the University of California.

Professor Charles K. Webster of the University of Wales has been appointed professor of history in Harvard University. Dr. Robert P. Blake has been promoted to an associate professorship and made director of the university library.

Professor Verner W. Crane of Brown University has leave of absence for the first semester of the coming academic year in order to give courses in American history at Harvard University.

Professor William R. Shepherd of Columbia University will have sabbatical leave for the year 1929. Professors Robert L. Schuyler and Harry J. Carman will be absent on sabbatical leave during the spring session of that year.

Professor Howard Robinson of Miami University will teach in the summer session of the Indiana University; during the academic year 1928-1929 he will have sabbatical leave.

Professor James G. Randall of the University of Illinois will teach in the summer school of Duke University this summer, and, having sabbatical leave from Illinois, will devote the next academic year to research in American constitutional history in Washington. Dr. Marcus L. Hansen, formerly of Smith College, who has spent the past winter in historical work for the American Council of Learned Societies, relative

to the numerical proportions of the different national strains in the American population of 1790, goes in September to the University of Illinois as associate professor of history.

Professor Clarence W. Rife of Hamline University has leave for the first half of 1928-1929. He will utilize it to complete for publication his work on "The Separatist Movement in Vermont". This is an expansion of a former study on "Vermont and Great Britain, a Study in Diplomacy, 1779-1783", which was presented as a doctoral dissertation at Yale.

In Stanford University, Dr. Henry Barrett Learned will serve as acting professor of history during the autumn.

Drs. Arthur S. Aiton and Albert Hyma, associate professors in the University of Michigan, will spend the next academic year in Europe, the former having a fellowship for that purpose from the Social Science Research Council, the latter one from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

Professor Curtis P. Nettels of the University of Wisconsin has leave of absence during the first semester of 1928-1929, which he will spend in London investigating the financial history of the American colonies. Professor Carl Stephenson of the same university will spend the second half of 1928-1929 carrying on research in Paris on one of the John Simon Guggenheim fellowships.

GENERAL

General review: Louis Hourticq, *Histoire de l'Art* (Revue Historique, January).

The third circular of the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences is at present being distributed. It contains further and more definite information respecting the Congress, travel, excursions, etc., and is accompanied by the provisional programme of the general and sectional meetings. An effort has been made to group the papers in such a way as to bring related subjects together. The abstracts of papers, and the texts of papers presented as reports, are being printed and will be distributed to members of the Congress on their arrival. The Danish historians invite the members of the Congress to visit Copenhagen on August 26 and 27, and are arranging a reception and an excursion for those dates.

About thirty or thirty-five American scholars expect to attend the Congress, and as many of these will be accompanied by members of their families the total number of Americans in attendance will probably be in the vicinity of fifty. The number of American papers announced is seventeen. The total attendance at the Congress is expected to exceed one thousand, with one hundred and fifty Germans and Austrians, one hundred French, fifty to one hundred British, and with a delegation of ten to forty from each of most of the other countries. A report of the Congress will be published in the next number of the *Review*.

The ninth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held in the Claypool Hotel, Indianapolis, December 28-31, at the same time when the American Historical Association is meeting in that city. The committee on programme has circulated a list of the papers expected to be read, papers mostly in the church history of Europe, but the president of the Association, Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick, acting chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, has chosen as the topic of his presidential address "George Washington and Religion".

It is announced that the board of editors which will assist Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt in the conduct of the *Journal of Modern European History* will consist of Professors Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University, Carlton J. H. Hayes of Columbia, Robert J. Kerner of California, Paul Knaplund of Wisconsin, W. L. Langer of Harvard, Thad W. Riker of Texas, Howard Robinson of Miami University, and Preserved Smith of Cornell. The journal is to be published by the University of Chicago Press, and is aided by a generous subsidy from that university.

The *Historical Outlook* for May contains a remarkable article by Professor J. B. Brebner of Columbia University, entitled, "The Court-ing of Dobroi Ivan", in which the recent history of the Russian peasant is discussed on the basis of extended recent travels in European Russia by the writer. There is also a series of notes on propaganda carried on in Great Britain by the Federal government during the Civil War, by J. H. Kiger. Professor M. L. Bonham contributes an interesting letter by a Hamilton College undergraduate in December, 1860, on the crisis then emerging.

The April number of *History* has articles on Suger of St. Denis by Dr. E. F. Jacob, and on Fact and Fancy in the Writing of History by Mrs. C. S. S. Higham.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* has published an unusually complete general index to its volumes, I.-XXII., which, in view of the amplitude of detailed information always presented in the pages of that journal, will be useful to many historical scholars.

The April number of the *Catholic Historical Review* contains, as mentioned beforehand in our April number (p. 718), nine of the papers read at the December meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, together with an account of the proceedings of that Washington meeting.

The April number of the *Journal of Negro History* has articles by Carl M. Frasure on Charles Sumner and the Rights of the Negro, and a more substantial article by W. Sherman Savage on Abolitionist Literature in the Mails, 1835-1836.

Professor Schmitt's series of *Landmarks in History* receives two useful additions, booklets on *The Irish Question, 1912-1914*, and on *Luther's Theological Development from Erfurt to Augsburg*—documentary collections of moderate compass so presented, the former by Professor F. Lee Bennis of Indiana University, the latter by Professor A. Hyma of the University of Michigan, as to serve as a basis for academic studies of historical problems.

The publishing house of G. Van Oest, of Brussels and Paris, announces, as forthcoming additions to its *Bibliothèque d'Histoire de l'Art*, volumes on *La Peinture Hollandaise*, by Mme. Brière-Misme, on *La Peinture Française: Moyen Age et Renaissance*, by Louis Gillet, and on *L'Art Byzantin*, by Charles Diehl. Also a series of twelve volumes on *Les Peintres Français du XVIII^e Siècle*, embracing some two hundred monographs, published under the editorial care of M. Louis Dimier. In its series of volumes on miniatures, books on *La Miniature Allemande* (from the Ottos to the sixteenth century), by Dr. Morton Bernath, on *La Miniature Espagnole*, by Dr. Walter W. S. Cook, and on *La Miniature Hollandaise*, by Dr. A. W. Bijvanck, are yet to appear. All these, it will be understood, will be richly illustrated. The firm also promises a volume on *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*, by Dr. H. R. Hall, keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the Museum.

Much erudition in a curious field marks an illustrated pamphlet of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. *The Giraffe in History and Art*, by Dr. Berthold Laufer, the museum's learned curator of anthropology, who has collected from widely scattered sources many interesting particulars concerning the history of the giraffe in ancient Egypt and Africa, in China, among the Romans and Byzantines, during the Middle Ages, and in later times. There are some thirty excellent illustrations, from old and modern sources.

The *Bulletin* of the Business Historical Society has in the May issue a sketch, by N. S. B. Gras of the University of Minnesota, of an Old-Time Type of Merchant, some account of the collection of manuscripts pertaining to East Indiamen and clipper ships, recently given to the society by Mr. Gordon Dexter, and a sketch entitled *Business and the Coffee House*.

Science and History, by A. L. Rouse, is one of the many "new views" of history (New York, W. W. Norton).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Lynn Thorndike, *A Historical Sketch of the Relationship between History and Science* (*Scientific Monthly*, April).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Alexandre Moret's *Le Nil et la Civilisation Égyptienne* (reviewed, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII, 300) has been translated into English by M. R. Dobie for the *History of Civilization* series (Knopf).

Those attracted by the science of numbers in ancient times will find valuable information in *La Science Égyptienne; l'Arithmétique au Moyen Empire*, by O. Gillain (Paris, Geuthner, 1927, pp. xvi, 326).

Explorations at Sodom, by the Egyptologist, Melvin G. Kyle, is the story of ancient Sodom in the light of modern research (Revell).

Dr. Champlin Burrage, in a pamphlet entitled *The Ithaca of the Odyssey* (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, pp. 42 and 6 plates), endeavors to prove that Thiaki is the Ithaca of Homer and to discover, on the basis of personal explorations, the literary evidences, and the statements of previous travellers, the sites of the city of Ithaca, the palace of Odysseus, the house of Laertes, the hut of Eumaeus, etc.

A Working Bibliography of Greek Law (pp. xix, 144), by Professor George M. Calhoun of the University of California and Catherine Delamere, has been published by the Harvard University Press.

Professor O. Tafrali of the University of Jassy, in an illustrated pamphlet of 80 pages, *La Cité Pontique de Dionysopolis* (Paris, Geuthner), sets forth the historical results of archaeological explorations and excavations conducted in 1920 at and near Baltchik, in southern Dobrudja, and adds sensibly to our knowledge of a Greek and Roman city on the Euxine.

The *Histoire du Monde*, edited by E. Cavaignac, is further enriched by vol. V., published in two parts: part I., *La Paix Romaine*, by the editor of the series, part II., *L'Empire Romain et l'Église*, by J. Zeiller of the École Pratique des Hautes Études. In this volume are treated the contacts of Mediterranean and Oriental civilization in the century after Alexander, and in greater detail the history of the Mediterranean world from Alexander to Justinian (Paris, Boccard, 1928, pp. 486, 362).

Professor Tenney Frank's *Catullus and Horace: Two Poets in their Environment* (New York, Holt, pp. 291) is to be cordially recommended to any student of Roman history who wishes to see it in the light of literature, expounded with grace and penetration.

A study of *Slavery in the Roman Empire*, by R. H. Barrow, has been published in London by Messrs. Methuen.

The Oxford University Press announces among its forthcoming publications, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, in which A. M. Duff traces the influence the class of freedmen exercised on politics and administration during the first two centuries of the Empire.

The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians, a volume of lectures by the late Professor J. B. Bury, is published by Macmillan.

Vol. I. of A. A. Vasiliev's *History of the Byzantine Empire, from Constantine to the Great Epoch of the Crusades, A. D. 1081*, has been translated by Mrs. S. Ragozin and is published as no. 13 of the University of Wisconsin Studies in Social Sciences and History.

The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Mediaeval Thought, by Murray W. Bundy, makes nos. 2 and 3 of vol. XII. of the University of Illinois *Studies in Language and Literature*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Puech, *La Légende de Pythagore* (*Journal des Savants*, January); Friedrich Frahm, *Cäsar und Tacitus als Quellen für die Altgermanische Verfassung* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIV. 2); V. Chapot, *La Résurrection d'une Cité Gréco-Orientale [Doura-Europos]* (*Journal des Savants*, January).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

By underlining place-names with a different color for each century, a useful wall-map prepared by the church historian Karl Pieper, *Orbis Christianus Sacculi I.-V.* (Dusseldorf, L. Schwann), shows the growing expansion of Christianity in the first five centuries.

The (English) Historical Association has published as no. 71 of its leaflets, *The Early Church and Social Life*, a selected bibliography relating to the first three centuries, compiled by Norman H. Baynes of University College, London.

In his *Il Cristianesimo nell' Africa Romana* (Bari, Laterza), Professor Ernesto Buonaiuti, of the University of Rome, makes a serious attempt to discover the meaning of the history of the African church and to estimate the debt which European Christianity owes to Roman Africa.

The Cambridge University Press has in preparation, in a limited edition, the *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, translated by Sir E. A. Willis Budge, occupying four volumes, the first complete translation in any language of the Ethiopic Synaxarium.

In the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, edited by Bardenhewer, Weyman, and Zellinger, a new series has been begun, consisting of translations of selected works of the Armenian fathers. Two volumes have appeared, *Ausgewählte Schriften der Armenischen Väter* (Munich, Kösel and Pustet, 1927, pp. xxvii, 318, vi, 298), edited by Canon S. Weber, and containing works of most of the Armenian writers of the classical period—Eznik of Kolb on heresies, Koriun's life of St. Mesrop, etc.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. B. Whitehead, *Acts of the Council of 499* (*Speculum*, April).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Many volumes in the series *Les Saints* (Paris, Lecoffre) may be of but moderate interest to American readers, but certainly there is an exception in the case of Mgr. P. Batiffol's small but masterly book on *Saint Grégoire le Grand* (1928, pp. 233).

A learned Louvain theological dissertation, *Papauté et Pouvoir Civil à l'Époque de Grégoire VII.*; *Contribution à l'Histoire du Droit Public*,

by E. Voosen (Gembloux, 1927, pp. xii, 342), deals with the contemporary controversy over the relation of these two powers, started by the excommunication and deposition of the Emperor Henry VII.

Medievalists will doubtless find interest in *L'Exemplum dans la Littérature Religieuse et Didactique du Moyen Âge*, by J. Th. Welter (Paris, Guitard, 1928, pp. 566), and in *La Tabula Exemplorum; Recueil d'Exempla compilé vers la Fin du XIII^e Siècle*, edited by the same author (*ibid.*, 1928, pp. 152).

In the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (1927, p. 608) Professor Ficker of Kiel values *Studien über Joachim von Floris*, by H. Grundmann (Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1927), as a most notable contribution to the history of medieval sects.

An important contribution to the history of Jewish architecture, medieval and modern, in central Europe is made by Richard Krautheimer in *Mittelalterliche Synagogen* (Berlin, Frankfurter Verlagsanstalt).

A Bibliography of Fifteenth-Century Literature, compiled by Lena L. Tucker and Allen R. Benham, with special reference to the history of English culture, is vol. II., no. 3 of *Publications in Language and Literature* of the University of Washington.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Thorndike, *Sanitation, Baths, and Street-Cleaning in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (*Speculum*, April); A. Coville, *Les Villes du Moyen Âge*, I., concl. (*Journal des Savants*, January, February); C. H. Haskins, *Latin Literature under Frederick II.* (*Speculum*, April); F. W. Brooks, *Naval Armament in the Thirteenth Century* (*Mariner's Mirror*, April); Walther Söchting, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Flandern und England am Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIV. 2).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Richard Ehrenberg's *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance*, the result of exhaustive research in the haphazard fifteenth-century finance, shows the development of capitalism during the period of the creation of money markets, by the Fuggers and their connections, to facilitate the sales of their commodities. Dr. Ehrenberg describes the position of Antwerp as the first free money market in Europe, the indiscriminate transactions of the merchants in business and in government loans, their difficulties in dealing with kings as debtors, how some of them were eventually ruined by the floating debt which they had brought into being, and how the Fuggers were finally broken by the Spanish bankruptcies. The book is published in London by Jonathan Cape.

Geoffroy de Grandmaison gives an account of *L'Expédition Française d'Espagne en 1823*, with eleven unpublished letters by Chateaubriand (Paris, Plon, 1928, pp. 276).

G. M. Steckloff's *History of the First International* from its formation in 1864 to its disintegration in 1876, has been translated by Eden and Cedar Paul and published by the International Publishers.

Convenient for reference purposes is the chronologically arranged *Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges; eine Sammlung aller wichtigen Daten der Weltpolitischen Entwicklung von 1870 bis 1914*, by Hermann Donner (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1927, pp. 126); there is an elaborate index and a bibliography of over thirty pages.

Further light on the situation at the outbreak of the World War is cast by François Charles-Roux in *Trois Ambassades Françaises à la Veille de la Guerre; l'Agonie de la Paix à Londres, Rome, Berlin* (Paris, Plon, 1928, pp. 228).

The third impression of Dr. G. P. Gooch's *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy* (Longmans, pp. lx, 218) is enlarged by the prefixing of a new chapter on "revelations of 1927", which reviews, with the same intelligence and fairness which characterized the original edition, and on a little larger scale, the memoirs of Prince Max of Baden, the Archduke Joseph, Sazonov, Kerensky, and other volumes of that year.

The late Professor John S. Bassett, at the time of his lamented death, had just finished the proofs of a volume on *The League of Nations*, which has since been published by Longmans, Green, and Company. His object was not one of advocacy or opposition respecting the League, but rather, from the point of view of an historian, to describe its course of development, its achievements and failures, and the position which it has made for itself as a political institution.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Isaak Bernays, *Die Diplomatie um 1500* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXVIII. 1); E. Seeberg, *Luthers Gottesanschauung* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLVI. 4); R. N. C. Hunt, *Some Communist Experiments of the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh Review, April); Gerhard Ritter, *Der Freiherr vom Stein und die Politischen Reformprogramme des Ancien Régime in Frankreich* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXVII. 3, CXXXVIII. 1); Merle E. Curti, *The Peace Movement and the Mid-Century Revolutions* (Advocate of Peace, May); M. Lhéritier, *Les Documents Diplomatiques Austro-Allemands sur les Origines de la Guerre de 1870-1871* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne, November-December); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Les Missives de Talleyrand à Londres* (Revue de Paris, April 15); Henry Bordeaux, *Chateaubriand à Roma* (Nuova Antologia, March 16); "Veracissimus", *Per la Verità Storica*, I., II. [international crisis of 1908-1909] (*ibid.*, March 16, April 1); Jacques Ancel, *L' "Épreuve de Force" Allemande en 1908-1909 d'après les Documents Allemands; la Crise Austro-Russe et la Politique de Bülow* (Revue Historique, January); Édouard Beneš, *Les Débuts d'une Action Diplomatique* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique,

XLII. 1); Ange Morre, *La Démocratie Européenne au XX^e Siècle*, XLVI., concl. (Nouvelle Revue, February 15, March 1); Potiorek über die Oesterreichisch-Serbische Spannung 1913 (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, March); Joh. V. Brecht, *Lichnowsky und Grey* (Preussische Jahrbücher, April); Harold Temperley, *How the Hungarian Frontiers were Drawn* (Foreign Affairs, April).

THE WORLD WAR

Professor Sidney B. Fay's important book on the origins of the war is expected to be published by the Macmillan Company in August or September in two volumes.

Messrs. Constable have announced the publication of the English edition of Prince Lichnowsky's memoirs, under the title *Heading for the Abyss*. The memoirs begin with the prince's appointment to the court of St. James.

The A. E. F. in Battle (New York, Appleton, pp. 385), by Dale Van Every, can be recommended as a clear, non-technical account of each of the engagements in which the American forces on the Western front in the World War were actively engaged.

On the great offensive of March 21, 1918, a highly important book is *Entstehung, Durchführung, und Zusammenbruch der Offensive von 1918* (Berlin, Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte), by General von Kuhl, chief of staff of Crown Prince Rupprecht's group of armies, being in substance his report to the Reichstag's committee. A brief but skillful account of the same is Commandant L. Koeltz's *La Bataille de France 21 Mars-Avril, 1918* (Paris, Payot).

Vol. II. of the official history of the *War in the Air*, by Capt. A. H. Jones, describing from its special point of view the Dardanelles campaign, the Western front in 1914, and the naval operations through the Battle of Jutland, will be published shortly by the Oxford University Press. Vol. I., written by the late Sir Walter Raleigh, appeared in 1922, and was reviewed in this journal (XXVIII. 318).

In 1919, 1920, and 1921 Miss Irene Cooper Willis published three small books entitled *How We Went into the War*, *How We Got on with the War*, and *How We Came out of the War*. These are now brought together in a volume called *England's Holy War* (New York, Knopf, pp. xx, 299). It is especially devoted to a bitter exposition and analysis of war propaganda in the leading newspapers of the Liberal Party.

Dr. Richard Grelling of Munich, whose book on the "Innocentist Campaign" has aroused much feeling in Germany, contributes to the publications of the Société de l'Histoire de la Guerre a small volume of criticism entitled *Comment la Wilhelmstrasse écrivait l'Histoire pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Alfred Costes), which deserves attention, though marked much more by vigor than by serenity.

Messrs. James A. Sprenger and Franklin S. Edmonds present in an attractive illustrated volume a body of official reports and similar documents commemorating the history of *The Leave Areas of the American Expeditionary Forces, 1918-1919*, a most interesting record of good work done for the soldiers at Aix-les-Bains, St. Malo, Grenoble, and a dozen other places in France.

In the series Economic and Social History of the World War, the Yale University Press has published Franz Exner's *Krieg und Kriminalität in Oesterreich* in the Austrian series; Fernand van Langenhove's *L'Action du Gouvernement Belge en Matière Economique pendant la Guerre*, in the Belgian series; *Studies in the War History of a Neutral*, vol. II., *Netherlands and the World War*, in the Netherlands series; and a translation by W. A. Phillips of Gratz and Schmöller's *Economic Policy of Austria-Hungary in its External Relations*, in the translated and abridged series.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. H. Cochran, *Historiography and War Guilt* (Political Science Quarterly, March); Friedrich Ritter von Wiesener, *Die Schuld der Serbischen Regierung am Mord von Sarajewo* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, April); Herman Lutz, *Die Britisch-Russischen Beziehungen bei Kriegsbeginn* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, VI. 1); Joh. V. Bredt, *Italien unter der Dreibund 1914* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, March); Heinrich Kanner, *Aufmarschpläne und Politik* (Der Krieg, March); *id.*, *Aufmarsch und Vermittlung* (*ibid.*, April); K. Wortmann, *Ottokar Czernin und die Westmächte im Weltkrieg* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 2).

GREAT BRITAIN

The aged Munich scholar, Lujo Brentano, is now engaged in the publication of his classic lectures on economic history under the title, *Eine Geschichte der Wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Englands*. Two volumes are now ready, the first running from earliest times to the end of the fifteenth century, the second covering the period of mercantilism (Jena, Fischer, 1927, pp. viii, 396, 453).

No. 15 (February) of the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research contains a valuable article by H. G. Richardson and George Sayles on the Early Records of the English Parliaments, the present installment dealing with those of Edward I. The number also contains substantial summaries of theses on the administration of Gascony, on petitions of towns in the Lancastrian period, and on English foreign trade in the fifteenth century.

Leaflet no. 72 of the (English) Historical Association is *A Short Bibliography of Local History* by Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson.

The third and fourth volumes of Professor Tout's *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England* were published by the

Manchester University Press (New York, Longmans, Green, and Co.) in May. Besides treatment of various units in the household service of the crown, the author presents a general survey of the administrative and political history of the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. There will be a fifth volume.

Vol. III., part III., of Hilaire Belloc's *History of England, The Later Middle Ages, 1348-1525*, has come from the press of Putnam.

The *Mariner's Mirror* for January contains a valuable article by A. W. Johns on the Principal Officers of the Navy—the treasurer, comptroller, surveyor, and clerk of the records, and lists of lieutenants of the admiralty and rear-admirals of England and the United Kingdom. There is also a paper by C. R. Boxer on European Rivalry in the Indian Seas, 1600-1700, controverting various statements in the articles by Admiral Ballard, and followed by other criticisms of the same.

It is announced in London that the Oxford University Press will publish during the spring the volume for the Stuart period of the *Bibliography of Modern British History* which has been undertaken in conjunction by the Royal Historical Society and the American Historical Association. It will be remembered that the committee of the latter body has had in charge the volume relating to the Tudor period, the British committee that relating to the period of the Stuarts.

Llewelyn Powys, in his *Henry Hudson*, written for the Golden Hind Series (London, Lane), has produced a picturesque but faithful report of the adventures of Hudson, in which he includes a Latin document, recently found in the Public Record Office, which shows that the mutineers who set Hudson adrift in a shallop, upon being tried for murder, were acquitted.

In his interesting study of *James II.* (London, Faber and Gwyer), Hilaire Belloc again challenges the conclusions of most historians of seventeenth-century England, maintaining that James II. was a much-sinned-against ruler, whose monarchy was destroyed by an oligarchy of rank and wealth, and offering the opinion that a popular monarchy, such as that of Louis XIV., might have saved the situation.

William Law and Eighteenth Century Quakerism, by Stephen H. Hobhouse (Macmillan), is a study of one of the figures in the eighteenth-century evangelical movement in England, containing some hitherto unpublished letters of William Law and of John Byrom.

In view of the importance of the *Grub-Street Journal* (1730-1737) and its rarity, only one complete file being accessible in England and one in America, Dr. James T. Hillhouse has undertaken to preserve for the literary or historical reader all that is important in its contents, in a volume, *The Grub-Street Journal* (Duke University Press, pp. 354), sketching its history, its relations to Pope and the Dunces, its campaigns against the textual criticism of Bentley and Theobald, its quarrels with

other periodicals, and its treatment of contemporary literature and drama and of legal, theological, and medical subjects.

Macmillan published in April vol. V. of the *Correspondence of King George III.*, edited by Sir John Fortescue. Vol. VI. will bring the letters to December, 1783, and complete the work.

Much that is interesting and important to the history of the English Catholics in the later years of the eighteenth century is to be found in Miss M. D. Petre's *The Ninth Lord Petre, or Pioneers of Roman Catholic Emancipation* (London, S. P. C. K., 1928, pp. xvi, 333).

An essay on Huskisson as a pioneer of liberal reform, by Alexander Brady of the University of Toronto, has been announced for publication, under the title *William Huskisson and Liberal Reform*, by Humphrey Milford.

Lord Beaverbrook's *Politicians and the War, 1914-1916* (Thornton Butterworth) is a study, in personal terms, of the relations among the various British politicians during the first two years of the war. The author, a life-long friend of Mr. Bonar Law, has made some use of his papers and of contacts with him at critical moments.

The Surrey County Council has published a methodical account, parish by parish, compiled by Miss D. L. Powell, and edited by Hilary Jenkinson of the Public Record Office, of all the extant muniments of Surrey parishes, *Abstract of Parish Records, Civil and Ecclesiastical* (Kingston, Surrey County Council).

The *Scottish Historical Review* for April opens with an article on Angus—Kingdom, Earldom, and Shrievalty (proposing that name instead of Forfarshire) by Lady Helena Carnegie; an interesting paper by Miss Marjory A. Bald on Contemporary References to the Scottish Speech of the Sixteenth Century; and an account of the Founding of Carron Iron Works in 1739, by Henry Hamilton. Deep regret will be caused by the announcement, on the last page, that publication of the *Review* will cease with the issue in July of the hundredth quarterly number.

The Historical Association of Scotland prints a pamphlet by Professor J. D. Mackie descriptive of the *Denmilne Manuscripts*, an important collection in the National Library of Scotland (formerly the Advocates Library) made in the seventeenth century by Sir James Balfour of Denmilne.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. G. Richardson, *Richard fitz Neal and the Dialogus de Scaccario*, I. (*English Historical Review*, April); Frank I. Schechter, *Popular Law and Common Law in Mediaeval England* (*Columbia Law Review*, March); E. C. Wright, *Common Law in the Thirteenth-Century English Royal Forest* (*Speculum*, April); C. H. Williams, *The Rebellion of Humphrey Stafford in 1486* (*English*

Historical Review, April); L. W. Labaree and E. R. Moody, *The Seal of the Privy Council* (*ibid.*); Henri Sée, *Évolution et Révolutions dans l'Angleterre du XVII^e Siècle* (Revue de Synthèse Historique, XLIV.); Rear-Adm. Livingston Hunt, U. S. N., *The Tragedy of Admiral Byng* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, May); Ed. Halévy, *La Politique du Roi Édouard* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January-March); Lujo Brentano, *Englands Anteil an der Kriegsschuld* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, March).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 969; for India, see p. 955.)

A Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography, by John S. Crone (Longmans), gives the salient facts in the lives of over two thousand noted Irishmen, covering the period from the time of the legendary heroes of the remote past to the late Cardinal O'Donnell.

An appeal for the gift or loan of letters and diaries of pioneer colonists in Australia, inserted in more than forty English and Scottish newspapers, brought to the Historical Society of Victoria a considerable amount of historical material. Mr. A. W. Greig has put in order for publication a large amount of this material, and has made of the *Victorian Historical Magazine* for December a special number devoted to Letters from Australian Pioneers—a hundred pages of very entertaining matter.

Vol. X. of the *Official History of Australia in the War* (Sydney, Angus and Robertson) is *The Australians at Rabaul*, a thorough account, by Lt.-Col. S. S. Mackenzie, of the Australian operations in the South Pacific from 1914 to 1921, when the mandate for New Guinea was conferred on Australia.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Gerald Murphy, *Scoti Peregrini* (Studies, March).

FRANCE

General review: Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Histoire de France; Fin du Moyen Âge, 1328-1498* (Revue Historique, January).

Notice is given of the appearance of vol. II. of the *Répertoire Bibliographique de l'Histoire de France*, edited by Pierre Caron and Henri Stein, embracing books and articles published in 1923 and 1924 (Paris, Picard, 1927, pp. xxvii, 372).

Two fascicles of importance in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* are *Le Latin des Diplômes Royaux et Chartes Privées de l'Époque Mérovingienne*, by Jeanne Vielliard (Paris, Champion, 1928, pp. xx, 256), and *L'Impôt Foncier et la Capitation Personnelle sous le Bas-Empire et à l'Époque Franque*, by Ferdinand Lot (*ibid.*, 1928, pp. 138).

The tenth volume of the series *Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Âge*, under the direction of Louis Halphen, is the *Correspondance* of Lupus of Ferrières, vol. I., edited and translated by Léon Levillain (Paris, Champion, 1928, pp. xxii, 259).

A handsome album, reproducing over two hundred documents, with explanatory text by L. Barrau-Dihigo and Jean Bonnerot, is issued under the caption *La Sorbonne; Six Siècles de son Histoire par l'Image* (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1928).

Said to be the best biography of its subject yet produced is Jean H. Mariéjol's *Vie de Marguerite de Valois, Reine de Navarre et de France, 1553-1615* (Paris, Hachette, 1928).

La Fayette, by Henry Dwight Sedgwick, is a biography based largely on the writings of his contemporaries and on his own letters and memoirs. (Bobbs-Merrill, pp. 433).

The manner in which democratic ideas gave rise to national feeling and then in turn to imperialism is set forth with much learning by Dr. Eva Hoffman-Linke in a volume entitled, *Zwischen Nationalismus und Demokratie: Gestalten der Französischen Vorrevolution* (Munich and Berlin, Oldenbourg).

As part of the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française*, there are published the *Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage d'Amont*, vol. II., edited by M. Godard and Léon Abensour (Paris, Leroux, 1928, pp. 582). and the *Cahiers de Doléances des Sénéchaussées de Quimper et de Concarneau pour les États Généraux de 1789*, vol. I., edited by Jean Savina and Daniel Bernard (*ibid.*, 1928, pp. lxxiii, 175).

A new contemporary source for the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars has appeared in *Les Carnets du Colonel Bial, 1789-1814*, edited from the original manuscript by Gabriel Soulié (Paris, Éditions de la Pensée Latine, 1928, pp. 320).

La Contre-Révolution en Provence et dans le Comtat Venaissin, d'après des Documents Inédits, by Jean Barrauol, is based on the papers of one of the chiefs of this movement and on public and private archives (Cavaillon, Mistral, 1928, pp. 330).

Pierre de La Gorce's expected second volume on *La Restauration*, dealing with *Charles X.; le Règne des Malentendus*, is now announced (Paris, Plon, 1928, pp. 344).

Georges Laronze has contributed to the *Bibliothèque Historique* an *Histoire de la Commune de 1871 d'après des Documents et des Souvenirs Inédits* (Paris, Payot, 1928, pp. 720).

In the collection *Les Vieilles Provinces de France*, edited by A. Albert-Petit, there has appeared an *Histoire de Bourgogne* by H. Drouot and J. Calmette (Paris, Boivin, 1928, pp. viii, 400).

The *Archiv für Elsässische Kirchengeschichte*, 2. Jahrgang (1927), contains, among other matter, articles on the Carthusian mystic Rudolph von Sachsen, of Mainz and Strasbourg, on religious fraternities and sodalities in Strasbourg before the Revolution, and on the Capuchins in Strasbourg from 1681 to the suppression of their houses in 1792, and, of greater interest to lay readers, an important article by Ernst Thiele on "Die Deutsche Regierung und das Konkordat im Elsass nach 1870", with much quotation of significant documents which the author has been allowed to see in the archives of the *Kultus* section of the former Alsace-Lorraine Ministerium.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Marc Bloch, "*Les Colliberti*"; *Étude sur la Formation de la Classe Servile*, I. (*Revue Historique*, January); Louis Batiffol, *Les Idées de la Révolution sous Louis XIV.* (*Revue de Paris*, March 1); Alfred Martineau, *Le Défense et la Critique de la Politique de Duplex*, II. (*Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, XVI. 2); Jean de la Monneraye, *La Crise du Logement à Paris pendant la Révolution* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); Paul L. Léon, *Lettres de Madame de Staël à Benjamin Constant*, I., concl. (*Revue de Paris*, March 1, 15); Victor Giraud, *La Carrière Politique de Chateaubriand* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 1); Pierre de La Gorce, *La Dernière Année de la Monarchie Traditionnelle*, II. (*ibid.*); Max Springer, *Napoléon III., ein Vorläufer des Modernen Imperialismus* (*Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, V. 12); Maurice Paléologue, *Les Entretiens de l'Impératrice Eugénie*, I.-III. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 1, 15, April 1); Walter R. Sharp, *The Political Bureaucracy of France since the War* (*American Political Science Review*, May).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: Cizam, *Courrier Italien* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April).

Rom und Venedig bis ins 12. Jahrhundert, by Professor Paul Kehr (Rome, Prussian Historical Institute, 1927, pp. 180), constitutes a sort of commentary on the seventh volume of his monumental *Italia Pontificia*.

From the school of Arrigo Solmi comes an intensive study of value by Gian Piero Bognetti, *Sulle Origini dei Comuni Rurali del Medio Evo, con speciali Osservazioni nei Territori Milanese e Comasco* (Pavia, Tipografia Cooperativa, 1927, pp. 215, xlv), published by the University of Pavia.

Two studies in the history of the Risorgimento are the work of C. Vidal, *Charles-Albert et le Risorgimento Italien, 1831-1848* (Paris, Boccard, 1928, pp. 632) and *Mazzini et les Tentatives Révolutionnaires de la Jeune-Italie dans les États Sardes, 1833-1834* (*ibid.*, 1928, pp. 230).

An important addition to the literature on the European situation in 1914 is *La Neutralità Italiana, 1914-1915* (Milan, Mondadori), by An-

tonio Salandra. The Italian premier describes the conditions which influenced Italy in refusing to join her allies, and eventually in joining the Entente.

Vittorio E. DeFiori's biography of Mussolini has been translated by Mario A. Pei and published by Dutton under the title, *Mussolini, the Man of Destiny*.

A translation into English of the whole of *Las Siete Partidas* is expected to be published before long by the American Bar Association.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Francesco Landogna, *Giovanni di Boemia e Carlo IV. di Lussemburgo, Signori di Lucca* (Nuova Rivista Storica, January); Albert Pingaud, *Le Premier Royaume d'Italie; la Guerre de 1809*, I, II. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLII. 1, 2); Angelo F. Guidi, *Le Correzioni di Ferdinando IV. alla Costituzione del 1812, da un Manoscritto Inedito* (Nuova Antologia, March 16); Paul Matter, *Les Origines du Risorgimento* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January-March); Ettore Rota, *Del Contributo dei Lombardi alla Guerra del 1848: il Problema del Volontarismo* (Nuova Rivista Storica, January).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND AUSTRIA

The Prussian Historical Institute in Rome expects to publish before long two volumes important to the history of the Counter-Reformation in Germany, prepared by Professor K. Schellhass, the first giving the preliminary history of the nunciature of Felician Ninguarda, the second his reports and correspondence, 1578-1583, *Ninguarda und die Deutsche Gegenreformation*. It is hoped that it may also be possible to resume publication of the *Repertorium Germanicum*.

Messrs. Arrowsmith, of London, have expected to publish, late this spring, in English translation, *The Letters of the Electress Sophia, 1650-1695*.

Band XL. of the *Politische Correspondenz Friedrich's des Grossen* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer), edited by Professor Gustav B. Volz, presents the correspondence of the year 1778, four hundred and seventy-nine documents in all, almost all of them letters of the king. Apart from the volume's rich contribution to German history, several letters to Maltzan, and two to Schulenburg respecting William Lee, cast light on Frederic's state of mind respecting America.

Circumstances in Germany having prevented Dr. Julius Heyderhoff from completing a proposed biography of Karl Twesten van Heyderhoff and Dr. Paul Wentzke from completing a history of the National Liberal Party, the two authors have instead prepared in co-operation, from the rich materials in their hands, the first and second volumes respectively of a collection of illustrative correspondence entitled *Deutscher Liberalismus im Zeitalter Bismarcks* (Bonn and Leipzig, Karl Schroeder, pp. 504, 511).

Professor Georg Steinhausen seeks to show, in his book *Der Politische Niedergang Deutschlands in seinen Tieferen Ursachen*, that the collapse of Germany was caused by the lack of leaders of strong personalities in the government.

Attention is called to a new monthly publication, *Der Krieg*, edited by Dr. Heinrich Kanner (Berlin, Laub), the first number of which appeared in February. It proposes to view the German imperial position prior to the war somewhat critically, with the ultimate purpose of furthering the cause of world peace.

My War Memoirs, by Dr. E. Beneš, describing his escape from Austria and his subsequent activities in Paris, Rome, and London, is published by Allen and Unwin.

Much important light is thrown on the situation in Europe leading to the outbreak of the war by the publication of volume I. of the letters of the Hungarian prime minister, *Graf Stefan Tisza: Briefe*, edited by Oskar von Wertheimer and published in Berlin by Reimar Hobbing.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ludwig Maenner, *Deutsche Wirtschaft und Liberalismus in der Krise von 1879*, concl. (*Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, V. 12); Baron Beyens, *Deux Années à Berlin, 1912-1914*, I., II. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, February 15, March 1); Heinrich Kanner, *Ein Geheimer Deutsch-Oesterreichischer Casus Foederis* (*Der Krieg*, February); Leopold Silberstein, *Die Entstehung des Tschechoslovakischen Staates nach Benesch's Memoiren* (*Europäische Gespräche*, March); Francesco Tommasini, *Le Origini e le Conseguenze del Dualismo Austro-Ungarico* (*Nuova Antologia*, May. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The earliest portion of the history of Friesland, prehistoric, institutional, ecclesiastical, is treated by P. C. J. A. Boeles in a volume published in commemoration of the centenary of the Frisian Historical Society, *Friesland tot de Elfde Eeuw, zijn Oudste Beschaving en Geschiedenis* (the Hague, Nijhoff, pp. 295 and plates).

Professor P. J. Blok, since his retirement from the principal chair of history in the University of Leiden, has occupied himself with the preparation of an elaborate life of *Michiel Adriaanszoon de Ruyter*, now published at the Hague by Nijhoff in a sumptuous quarto (pp. xx, 460), with a hundred illustrations, mostly from contemporary copperplates.

The University of Washington Press has brought out as vol. IV., no. 1 of its *Publications in the Social Sciences* Professor Henry S. Lucas's *John III., Duke of Brabant, and the French Alliance, 1345-1347*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. L. Ganshof, *La Colonisation Franque et le Régime Agraire en Basse-Belgique* (*Journal des Savants*, March).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: G. Gautier, *Histoire de Russie; Publications des Années 1917-1927* (Revue Historique, January).

In 1772, when Danish restriction secluded Iceland almost completely from the rest of the world, Sir Joseph Banks, with several scientific associates, made a visit to the island which resulted in his being ever after the good friend of the Icelanders. Vol. XVIII. of *Islandica*, the series issued by Cornell University Library, is a monograph by Halldór Hermannsson on *Sir Joseph Banks and Iceland* (pp. 99, and 24 plates) in which, from Sir Joseph's correspondence and other sources, he relates the history of the expedition, of the projects for British acquisition of Iceland during the Napoleonic wars, and of Sir Joseph's efforts on behalf of Icelandic vessels captured as prizes. Illustrations reproduce drawings made by the artists who accompanied the expedition.

Walter Eckert's *Kurland unter dem Einfluss des Merkantilismus* (Riga, Löffler, 1927, pp. xxv, 272) describes the skillful economic policy of Duke James who ruled from 1642 to 1682.

Every schoolboy knows the bare outlines of the partition of Poland. In future, he will doubtless be compelled to master also those of the restoration of Poland. The writer of text-books will draw his material from such works as *La Restauration de la Pologne et la Diplomatie Européenne*, by J. Blociszewski, professor of international law in the École des Sciences Politiques (Paris, Pedone, 1927).

In the series *Russkaia Istoricheskaja Biblioteka*, published by the Historical-Archaeographical Commission of the Russian Academy of Sciences, J. L. Barskov and Professor P. S. Smirnov have illustrated with great fulness the history of the Old Believers in the seventeenth century by a stout volume of documents, *Pamiatniki Istorii Staroobriadchestva XVII. Veka* (Leningrad, the Academy, 1927, pp. xcvi, cols. 959), to be followed soon by another, the two embracing the autobiography and writings of the protopope Avvakum, and much other pertinent material, carefully edited.

The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences has honored Professor Michael Hrushevski, on his completion of sixty years of age and forty of scientific activity, by the publication of a very substantial *Festschrift* embracing fifty-one brief contributions by various friends, in fields of palaeoethnology, Ukrainian and general history, nearly all in Russian, *Yubilcinii Zbirnik* (Kiev, 1928, pp. 492). The historical essays range from one on what Thietmar of Merseburg has to say of Ukrainian affairs in the beginning of the eleventh century, to one on the modern commission for expropriation of land, and a long one (illustrated) on Kiev photographers. We especially mention two contributions not written in Russian, "Frühmittelalterliche und Spätantike Wirtschaft", by Professor Alfons Dopsch of Vienna, and one on "Fulgentius in the Carolingian Age", by Professor M. L. W. Laistner of Cornell University.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Johan Schreiner, *Harald Hårfagre og hans Efterfølgere* (Historisk Tidsskrift, 1928, 1); C. A. Reuterskiöld, *Den Svenska Förvaltningsrättens System* (Skrifter utgivna av Kongl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala, XXIV.); Baron Hamilcar v. Foelckersam, ehem. Mitglied der Reichsduma, *Aus meinen Erinnerungen*, II., III. (Preussische Jahrbücher, February, March); Joh. V. Bredt, *Die Russische Mobilmachung 1914* (*ibid.*, February); Comte Benckendorff, *Les Derniers Jours du Tsar à Tsarskoie-Sélo*, I., II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1, 15).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The three lectures, delivered by Count Léon Ostrorog at the centennial celebrations of University College, London, on the disestablishment of Islam as the state religion of the Turkish Republic, have been published by the University of London Press under the title *The Angora Reform*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Pierre de La Gorce, *La Libération de la Grèce* (Revue de Paris, May 1).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Life and Times of Ali ibn Isà, the Good Vizier, by Harold Bowen, published by Macmillan, is a picture of the court of Baghdad from 892 to 946 A.D.

The Carmelites in Mesopotamia, a chronicle of the events between the years 1623 and 1733 relating to the settlement of the order, has been edited by Sir Hermann Gollancz and published by the Oxford Press.

The Cambridge University Press has announced for early summer publication the third volume of the *Cambridge History of India*, by Sir Wolseley Haig.

Mr. H. K. Trevaskis in *The Land of the Five Rivers: an Economic History of Punjab from the Earliest Times to the Year 1890* (Oxford University Press) writes on the basis of much reading and of twenty years' sympathetic work among the Punjab peasantry, expecting to continue his narrative to recent times in an additional volume.

The Association for International Understanding (Chatham House, London) publishes, in a useful pamphlet of 46 pages, *A Chronology of Events in China, 1911-1927*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Léon Krajewski, *La Politique Anglaise en Arabie, 1915-1927* (Revue de Paris, March 15).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

General review: H. Hubert, *Les Dix Premières Années du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1916-1925* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, XVI. 1).

The second series in the massive collection, *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, as found in various European archives and libraries, deals with the *Dynastie Filalienne*, which ruled from 1661 to 1757. Vol. III., edited like its predecessors by Lt.-Col. H. de Castries, has now been issued (Paris, Geuthner, 1927, pp. xxviii, 585).

The archive commission of the Union of South Africa continues its series of *Kaapse Archiefstukken* by a volume of the year 1779 (pp. viii, 616), edited by Miss Kathleen M. Jeffreys, and presenting all the data for that year to be derived from the resolutions and correspondence of the Politieke Raad and from the journal kept at the citadel of Good Hope.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Léonce Pagès, *L'Oeuvre de la France au Maroc*, I., concl. (Nouvelle Revue, April 1, 15); Maréchal Galliéri, *Lettres de Madagascar, 1902-1905*, I., II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15, May 1).

AMERICA

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published the fourth volume of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (pp. lxvi, 551), covering the transactions of the year 1779. It has sent to the printer, for the Department of Historical Research, four volumes: the third volume (*Libraries*, first to be printed) of Mr. Leland's *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for American History in the Archives and Libraries of Paris*, the fourth volume of the late Professor Bassett's *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, the second, 1649-1697, of the late Miss Davenport's *Treaties between European Powers bearing on the History of the United States*, and the second of Mrs. Catterall's *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, which presents the cases reported from the courts of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Mr. Jameson's directorship of the department ceased June 30. Letters concerning its affairs should hereafter be addressed to its secretary, Miss Cornelia M. Pierce, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has acquired additional papers, some ninety pieces, of Commodore John Rodgers, 1798-1837; miscellaneous papers of Philip A. Fendall, 1811-1860; farm and business records of Levi and LeRoy Davis of the Genesee Valley, 1835-1884; letters from Henry Hitchcock to his wife from the field during Sherman's march to the sea, 1864-1865; letters, papers, sketches, sketch-books, etc., of Charles W. Reed, trumpeter in the Ninth Massachusetts Battery during the Civil War; also the Lincoln family Bible, with entries in the hand of Abraham Lincoln and his son Robert, and the Bible on which Lincoln took the oath of office as President. It should be understood that the flow of photostats of American materials from European archives continues constantly, though it is impossible to present itemized lists in these pages.

The Pulitzer Prize for the best book of 1927 in American history has been awarded by Columbia University to Professor Vernon L. Partridge, of the University of Washington, for his book entitled *Main Currents of American Thought*. The prize for American biography was awarded to Charles E. Russell's *The American Orchestra and Theodore Thomas*.

Professor Walter W. Jennings of the University of Kentucky has rewritten his excellent *History of Economic Progress in the United States* (reviewed in this journal, XXXII. 131) in briefer form, completely reorganizing his material along somewhat more organic lines with a topical instead of chronological arrangement. The new publication, *Introduction to American Economic History* (Crowell, pp. 546), is of about two-thirds the length of the earlier work and is designed, according to the author, especially for use in the junior college and by the busy business man who needs a clear knowledge of existing conditions.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Messrs. Scribner have brought out a revised edition of W. F. Gordy's *History of the United States*.

Edward B. Birge is the author of a *History of Public School Music in the United States*, which has been brought out in Boston by the firm of Ditson.

The new Paris firm of Duchartre and Van Buggenhoudt undertakes the ambitious enterprise of a reprint of De Bry, under the general title *Collection Illustrée des Grands Voyages en Amérique au XVI^e Siècle*, with fine reproductions of the original engravings. The first volume, *Voyages en Virginie et en Floride*, contains Hariot, with the engravings from White's drawings, and the narratives of Ribaut, Laudonnière, and Gourgues, with the engravings from the drawings of Jacques le Moyne.

In April, at the sale of the private library of the late Lord Leconfield of Petworth, the manuscript of George Percy's "A Trewe Relatyon of the Proceedings and Occurrentes of Momente which have happened in Virginia", which we believe has never been printed, was purchased by Dr. Rosenbach for £6600.

A study of the part played by *Masonry in the Formation of our Government, 1761-1799*, has been published in Milwaukee by the author, Philip A. Roth.

The December number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society contains an extensive study, by Rev. Charles F. McCarthy, of the Historical Development of Episcopal Nominations in the Catholic Church of the United States, 1784-1884.

In two small books entitled *Jeffersonian Principles* and *Hamiltonian Principles* (Little, Brown, and Company) Dr. James Truslow Adams

prints careful selections from the writings of Jefferson and Hamilton giving expression to their more general thoughts on politics and government, and other statements of principle having general application and abiding interest. Each of these convenient and impressive compilations has prefixed to it a thoughtful introduction by Dr. Adams.

Archibald D. Turnbull has brought out through the Century Company the biography of an American inventor who contributed much to the improvement of steam transportation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, *John Stevens: an American Record*.

A detailed account of the war with Tripoli of 1804 is presented by the Essex Institute in the *Journal of Hezekiah Loomis* (pp. 67, illustrations), steward on the U. S. brig *Vixen*, Capt. John Smith, U. S. N. Its pages have been appearing in the *Collections*.

Mr. Don C. Seitz, connected for many years with the New York *World*, has taken occasion of the year of presidential election to publish a volume entitled *The "Also Rans": Great Men who missed making the Presidential Goal* (New York, T. Y. Crowell Company, pp. xxiv, 356), illustrated by photographs and caricatures, and written in an off-hand, journalistic style. It will please many readers, and doubtless attract some into the reading of more serious history, but it is based on superficial reading, and raciness and effectiveness have been sought at the expense of accuracy, fairness, and instructiveness.

Much more trustworthy is Professor Thomas F. Moran's *American Presidents: their Individualities and their Contributions to American Progress* (New York, Crowell), first brought out in 1917 and now presented in a revised and enlarged edition; without being brilliant in style or marked by any extraordinary penetration, it gives history and characterization for popular consumption in a sound and sensible manner, and adds some useful descriptions of statesmen who merely approached the presidency, and some remarks on the ethics of a presidential campaign.

Meade Minnigerode's *Presidential Years*, published by Putnam, is a journalistic picture of political campaigning in the early years of the Republic.

The Century Company has just published a *History of the Democratic Party* by Frank R. Kent and, as its companion, a *History of the Republican Party* by Professor William S. Myers of Princeton.

Historical material of much interest respecting the progress of medicine in the United States, especially in the South, both before and after the Civil War, is presented by Professor Richard H. Shryock of Duke University in the *Bulletins* of the Johns Hopkins Hospital for March and April, "Selections from Letters, 1834-1875, of Richard D. Arnold, M.D.", mayor of Savannah, vice-president and secretary of the American Medical Association.

Crawford W. Long and the Discovery of Anesthesia, by Frances Long Taylor, is published in New York by P. B. Hoeber.

Professor Arthur J. May, of the University of Rochester, publishes a Pennsylvania thesis on *Contemporary American Opinion of the Mid-Century Revolutions in Central Europe*, in which much excellent and interesting information on its theme, derived from newspapers, other published materials, and Washington archives, is presented. Donelson's despatches of March, 1848, from Berlin could have been cited from vol. XXIII. of this journal.

Peter Testman's Account of his Experiences in North America, translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen, has been published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association as vol. II. of the Travel and Description series.

The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company has established a foundation for the study of the life of Abraham Lincoln, employing Dr. Louis A. Warren to devote all his time to the study of the original sources of information upon Lincoln's life and to lectures to be given, without charge, to any appropriate organizations.

Personal Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln, by a member of the Lincoln Bodyguard, Smith Stimmel, has been brought out in Minneapolis by William H. M. Adams.

Lincoln in the Year 1860, and as President-Elect: being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln from January 1, 1860, to March 5, 1861, by Paul M. Angle, is published by the Lincoln Centennial Association in Springfield, Ill.

Ein Jahrzehnt Deutsch-Amerikanischer Politik (1897-1906), by Hermann Leusser, constitutes Beiheft 13 of the *Historische Zeitschrift*.

The Department of Government in the Louisiana State University publishes *The Recognition Policy of the United States since 1901* (Baton Rouge, pp. xi, 104), by Taylor Cole of that department, a monograph surveying briefly the earlier policy of the United States respecting recognition of new governments, but treating more elaborately the recent examples.

Primary Elections, by Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago and Dr. Louise Overacker, is a revised version of the book published by the former in 1908 under the same title. The chapters giving the history of primaries down to 1900 are not changed; but the remaining portions, historical, descriptive, and legal, have been brought up to date by extensive changes.

The Vanguard Press of New York has begun the publication of a series of *Studies in American Imperialism*, small but substantial volumes resting on researches sustained by the American Fund for Public Service. The intention to illuminate the progress of economic imperialism by thorough and impartial studies is certainly worthy of high commendation. The first of the series is a volume by Dr. Melvin M. Knight, formerly

associate professor of economics in Columbia University, on *The Americans in Santo Domingo*. Others already issued are *Our Cuban Colony*, by Dr. Leland H. Jenks, and *The Bankers in Bolivia*, by Mrs. Margaret A. Marsh. Controversial as are all these fields of investigation, the temper of the books is not controversial.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Following are the articles in the April number of the *New England Quarterly*: William Eaton, a Sanguine Man, by J. H. Sedgwick; Conscious Art in Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, by E. F. Bradford; the Isolationist Policy of Colonial Massachusetts, by A. H. Buffinton; Benjamin Franklin's "Electrical Kite" and Lightning Rod, by M. W. Jernegan; and Forcing the Dardanelles in 1810, by S. E. Morison.

A four-volume *History of Middlesex County* (Mass.) and its people, by Edwin P. Conklin, is from the press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company.

In commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Phillips Academy, Professor Claude M. Fuess publishes some fifteen biographical sketches in a volume entitled *Men of Andover* (Yale University Press, pp. xiv, 248). The sketches, based on careful research, exceedingly well written, and marked by much skill in appreciation, treat of Washingtons and Lees at Phillips Academy, of Paul Revere and the seal he engraved for the institution, of Charles Bulfinch, architect of two of its oldest buildings, and of a dozen graduates or students, from Josiah Quincy and Samuel F. B. Morse to Nathaniel P. Willis and Oliver Wendell Holmes.

The Worcester Historical Society has inaugurated a new series of *Publications*, of which no. 1 bears the date April, 1928. The number contains three articles: Worcester and its Newspapers, by Frank Colgrove; a biographical sketch of Stephen C. Earle (1839-1913), by Rear-Admiral Ralph Earle, U. S. N.; and the Antecedents of the Worcester Society of Friends, by Charles H. Lincoln.

The Connecticut State Library has acquired thirteen volumes of Congregational church records from Branford, Higganum, New Canaan, and Northford, and five volumes of land and town records from Barkhamsted and Saybrook. The indexing of manuscript copies of the vital records of the Connecticut towns has been nearly completed.

The Connecticut Historical Society has received a quantity of letters and documents of Edwin Stearns of Middletown, bank commissioner, Democratic politician, etc., 1820 ca.-1865.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The January number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association contains, besides an account of the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the association (at Glens Falls in October) and the proceedings of the midwinter meeting, an article on Philip Skene of Skenesborough, by John Pell, and one on Baum's Raid, by Amy E. Lansing.

The May *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library records interesting accessions of manuscript materials, which include a large body of the papers of Samuel J. Tilden; a series of records of the Tammany Society (minute books, etc.), covering particularly the period from 1791 to 1847 (although with some gaps), with some assessment books of 1859 and 1863; an account-book of H. Davis recording transactions in the sale of negroes at Richmond, Va., 1860-1864; and an account-book of the Groen and Marius families, in New Amsterdam in 1658-1659, in Amsterdam, Holland, in 1712-1713, and in New York, etc., in 1775-1783.

Morris R. Werner's *Tammany Hall*, published by Doubleday, Doran, is a well-documented account of that organization from its founding in 1788 through 1924.

In the April number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society are the following articles: William Haig of Bemerside, Surveyor-General and Receiver-General of East Jersey, by David McGregor; a New Jersey Woman's Captivity among Indians, 1791-1793 (the "Narrative" of Mrs. Mary Kinnan), with introduction and notes by Rev. O. M. Voorhees; the Quakers and Early Citizens of Burlington, the anniversary address of Hon. Edward C. Stokes; John Philip Holland and his Submarines, by R. P. Brooks; and a reprint (from the *Second Annual Report* of the State Historian of New York) of the list of Colonel Thomas Farmer's New Jersey Regiment of 1715.

A four-volume history of the five New Jersey counties, Somerset, Morris, Hunterdon, Warren, and Sussex, edited by Abraham V. D. Honeyman, has been published by the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, under the title *Northwestern New Jersey*.

The spring number of the *Bulletin* of the Friends' Historical Association has an interesting article by Mrs. Amelia M. Gummere, When the Friends came to Burlington.

The April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains an article by Harrold E. Gillingham on Calico and Linen Printing in Philadelphia; the second of Isaac R. Pennypacker's papers on Military Historians and History; the Journal of a Journey from Philadelphia to the Cedar Swamps and back in 1764, by Benjamin Mifflin; the first installment of a paper by Hon. William R. Riddell entitled, Libel on the Assembly, a Prerevolutionary Episode; and some articles of local interest.

The *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* has in the April number an article by Rev. G. J. Reid entitled *Some Old Trails and Roads of Western Pennsylvania*, with special reference to Clarion County, and chapters III. and IV. of Percy B. Caley's *Life Adventures of Lieut.-Col. John Connolly: the Story of a Tory*.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The General Assembly of Virginia at its recent session made an appropriation of \$5000 for each of the next two years for the purpose of making photostat copies of the older records of various counties of the state. The originals will be returned to the respective counties or retained by the State Library, as the county may desire. In any event, one set of photostats will be retained by the library, another sent to the county from which the records came. Already twenty-nine books have been obtained from Middlesex County, which will be put in good condition and permanently retained by the State Library, and nineteen books from King William County, which, after being photostated, will be returned.

The Virginia State Library in the January *Bulletin* prints the *Journal of the House of Delegates of Virginia* for the session held by it in March, 1781, which, it seems, has never before been printed.

The contents of the April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* are continuations, namely: Letters of the Byrd Family (1728-1735); Mr. David I. Bushnell, jr.'s illustrated articles on John White, the artist (1585); the study, by Paul H. Giddens, of the Co-operation of the Southern Colonies in the Forbes Expedition against Fort Duquesne (concluded); the Diary of William Beverley of "Blandfield" (1750); the Diary of Bishop Early (1812); the Kennon letters (1814); and the Virginia Council Journals (1830).

In the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are found an account of the proposed restoration of Wakefield, the birthplace of Washington, by Charles A. Hoppin; an article on "the Bride of Wakefield", the Wollaston portrait of Washington's mother, by the same writer; an Abstract of Men raised . . . for the Continental Service, November, 1782 (a manuscript in the State Library); an account, by Harold Dailey, of the Old Communistic Colony at Bethel (Shelby County, Mo.); two letters of James Monroe (1777, 1800) and one of George Weedon (1777); and four letters pertaining to John Brown's insurrection, one of them from J. E. B. Stuart, two from Bradley T. Johnson.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints in the April number a group of letters (16 in number) from Moncure Robinson (1802-1891) to his father, John Robinson of Richmond. The first six of the letters (1822) are written from points in the state of New

York. The remainder (1825-1826) are principally from Paris, where he was studying engineering. President J. D. Eggleston of Hampden-Sidney College contributes to this number some notes concerning Francis Joseph Mettauer and John Peter Mettauer, the former a surgeon in the French army, who settled at Kingsville after the battle of Yorktown, the latter a son, who became a distinguished physician and surgeon (died 1875).

Dr. Ralph C. McDanel, associate professor of history in the University of Richmond, presents an elaborate history of the *Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901-1902* as the third number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. XLVI.

A History of Roane County, West Virginia, 1774-1927, has been published in Spencer, W. Va., by the author, William H. Bishop.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has continued its series of papers of governors by printing the *Public Papers and Letters of Cameron Morrison, Governor of North Carolina, 1921-1925* (pp. xlviii, 365)—biographical sketch, messages to the general assembly, proclamations, appeals to the public, public addresses, statements and interviews for the press, public letters, and telegrams.

Articles in the January number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* are: the Preservation of Alabama History, by Mitchell B. Garrett; Slave Conspiracies in North Carolina, by R. H. Taylor; and White Methodism in South Carolina during Reconstruction, by Francis B. Simpkins. In the April number are: the Preservation of Mississippi History, by William H. Weathersby; the Sheriff in Colonial North Carolina, by Julian P. Bond; and Alexander McGillivray, 1783-1789, by Arthur P. Whitaker. The reprint of the Debate on the Fisher Resolutions, edited by A. R. Newsome, continues through both numbers. The Historical Notes in the April number relate to the Hillsborough Convention of 1788.

The James Sprunt Historical Studies, vol. XX., no. 1, is a monograph on *North Carolina Newspapers before 1790*, by Charles C. Crittenden. Altogether there were at least twelve newspapers established in North Carolina prior to 1790 (the first was in 1751), and of some of them not a single copy exists. The author discusses in particular the make-up and circulation of newspapers, sources of news, literary and epistolary contributions, editorial comment (rather, the absence of it), and the advertisements. In an appendix is a list of such as are found in the library of the University of North Carolina and in possession of the Historical Commission. Another appendix (20 pages) contains a selection of letters of the period 1787-1789.

The University of North Carolina Press has brought out a volume by Cecil K. Brown entitled *A State Movement in Railroad Development*, being a history of the attempt made by North Carolina to operate her own

railroads; and has announced for early publication a work on *County Government and Administration in North Carolina*, by Paul W. Wager, and another on *William Gregg: Factory Builder of the Old South*, by Broadus Mitchell.

The contents of the April number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are principally continuations, namely: the history of Goose Creek, by the late Judge Henry A. M. Smith; the correspondence of Henry Laurens, and that of Charles Garth, agent for South Carolina in England, both edited by Joseph W. Barnwell; Inscriptions from the Circular Congregational Church Yard, prepared by Miss Mabel L. Webber; and Marriage and Death Notices from the *City Gazette*.

The March number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains a study, by Ralph B. Flanders, of Two Plantations and a County of Antebellum Georgia, namely, the county of Houston in central Georgia and the Tooke and Everett plantations therein. In the same number Professor E. Merton Coulter presents a study of Planters' Wants in the Days of the Confederacy. In the section of Notes and Documents are two items: a letter of William Few to the speaker of the Georgia assembly, October 19, 1786, respecting the Georgia-South Carolina territorial disputes, and a list of publications of the Georgia Historical Society.

The Florida Historical Society *Quarterly*, April number, contains an article by Frank Drew on Florida Place-Names of Indian Origin, one by Frederick Cubberly on Fort George (St. Michael), Pensacola, a letter from James Monroe, as Secretary of State, to Brig.-Gen. George Mathews, April 4, 1812, and part II. of the Letters of Samuel Forry.

The Louisiana State Museum has during the past year acquired the official papers of Lieut.-Gen. Richard Taylor, C. S. A., of the Civil War period; correspondence of Gen. Braxton Bragg, 1861-1864; and Maj. Howell Tatum's New Orleans journal of 1814.

Mr. G. P. Whittington contributes to the October number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* a sketch of Dr. John Sibley of Natchitoches (1757-1837), together with a journal of Dr. Sibley, covering a voyage from Charleston to New Orleans and a journey up the Mississippi to Natchez in 1802, letters to his son, 1803-1821, and letters to Christopher C. Baldwin of Worcester, Mass., 1832-1835. Mr. Henry P. Dart, the editor, contributes to the same number a sketch of Laurent MacMahon, First Councillor in the Superior Council of Louisiana and Director of the Company of the Indies at New Orleans, 1730-1731, together with the proceedings upon MacMahon's induction into office as councillor. Three other noteworthy documents are presented in this issue, namely: Carondelet's Levee Ordinance of 1792; an edict of December 15, 1721, as to guardians; and the fourth installment of the documents concerning Bien-ville's lands in Louisiana.

An interesting volume of memoirs relative to French colonial America is *Le Chevalier de Pradel; Vie d'un Colon Français en Louisiane au XVIII^e Siècle, d'après sa Correspondance et celle de sa Famille, 1692-1785*, edited by A. Baillardel and A. Prioult (Paris, Maisonneuve, 1928, pp. 464).

WESTERN STATES

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its twenty-first annual meeting at Des Moines on April 26-28. The formal address of the president, Dr. Joseph Schafer, was on Carl Schurz, Immigrant Statesman. There were also papers on various aspects of state historical work, on the work of history teachers, on the Early West (including papers by Miss Louise P. Kellogg on Robert Rogers and Jonathan Carver, by Professor John C. Parish on the Intrigues of Captain O'Fallon, and by Professor Arthur P. Whitaker on the Relation of Jay's Treaty to the Treaty of San Lorenzo), and on later matters, such as the Last Frontier.

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the following articles: Pardoning the Leaders of the Confederacy, by J. T. Dorris; the Cleavage within the Farmers' Alliance Movement, by Herman C. Nixon; River Navigation in the Early Southwest, by Grant Foreman; Efforts of Spain to maintain Sources of Information in the British Colonies before 1779, by Kathryn Abbey; and the Rise of Methodism in the Middle West, by Francis I. Moats. There are also three short documents, one of them being a letter of Capt. Harry Gordon on the British military establishment in America.

The papers of Albert G. Porter, governor of Indiana 1881-1885, have been given to the Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana State Library, mostly to the latter. The Society has issued a reprint of Mrs. Frank J. Sheehan's study, *The Northern Boundary of Indiana*, as vol. VIII., no. 6, of its *Publications*.

The *Indiana History Bulletin*, vol. V., extra no. 2 (April), prints an address by Dr. M. M. Quaife on Detroit and George Rogers Clark, with Mr. Ross F. Lockridge's remarks "in exception".

Among the contents of the October number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society are: an account of the Anti-Slavery Convention held in Alton, Ill., in 1837, by A. L. Bowen; a study of an Illinois Village (Eureka), 1873-1923, by Frank R. Hall; an article, by Emma D. R. Darst, entitled Planting the Church of the Disciples at Little Mackinaw, 1833-1927; an account of the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, by William H. DeMotte, an eye-witness; and a biographical sketch, by Lydia Colby, a daughter, of William D. Colby (1838-1913), including extracts from his Civil War diary and letters.

The April number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* contains an appreciation, by J. Allen Nolan, of Dr. Peter J. Muldoon, First Bishop of Rockford, 1863-1927, and an article, by Charles A. McMahon, on

Bishop Muldoon's War and Reconstruction Services; also one by Rev. Paul J. Foik on the Dark and Bloody Ground, and part III. of Rev. Joseph P. Ryan's studies of Travel Literature as Source Material for American Church History.

The Somonauk United Presbyterian Church, near Sandwich, Ill., is the church of a colony of Scottish and Irish Presbyterian descent that migrated westward from the Argyle Patent and elsewhere in Washington County, N. Y. Its history, with many family letters and other documents, is recorded in a privately printed book by Jennie M. Patten and Andrew Graham, *The History of the Somonauk United Presbyterian Church* (Chicago, 1928).

The April number of the (Kentucky) *History Quarterly* contains the Rev. John D. Shane's Interview with Pioneer William Clinkenbeard, copied by Lucien Beckner from the original manuscript in the Draper Collection, and an article by John D. Wickliffe on Pioneer Stations in Nelson County.

When Kentucky was Young, by Fannie C. Duncan, is a small book of sketches intended to exhibit to young people the early political and social development of the state.

Among the contents of the *Michigan History Magazine*, April number, are: an account of the Dismissal of President Tappan of the University of Michigan, by Charles M. Perry; the Beginnings (a pageant), by William Chauncy Langdon; an article concerning Charlevoix, an Early Visitor to Michigan, by Velera Keller; an account of the Grand Rapids Furniture Centennial, by Arthur S. White; an historical account of the Automobile Industry in Michigan, by Earl G. Fuller; and one on Old Trails of Central Michigan, by Edmund A. Calkins.

The Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library has recently received two groups of manuscripts of considerable importance. One of these comprises the business and other records of Denis J. Campau (1819-1878) and the personal and political papers of Denis J. Campau (1852-1927), the other the papers of Lewis T. Ives and of his son, Percy Ives (died 1928). Vol. I. of *The John Askin Papers* (pp. 657), covering the period 1747-1795, which is also to constitute vol. I. of the *Burton Historical Records*, is in the hands of the binder. The *Leaflet* of May contains another of Mr. M. M. Quaife's Detroit Biographies, a sketch of Commodore Alexander Grant, 1734-1813.

The matter of most interest in the last-published *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin is an extended survey of Wisconsin Historical Landmarks, by Miss Louise P. Kellogg.

The Minnesota Historical Society has acquired a collection of the records of the Sweetman Irish colony founded in Murray County in the early 'eighties; a diary kept by E. C. Jordan during construction work for the Northern Pacific Railroad, 1870-1871; and the World War letters and diary of Lieut. Granville Gutteresen.

The principal contents of the March number of *Minnesota History* are: Daniel Webster and the West, by Professor Clyde A. Duniway; Backgrounds of Minnesota, by Theodore Christianson; the Topography and Geology of the Grand Portage, by George M. Schwartz; a description, by William E. Culkin, of the method of Historical Bookkeeping by Quadruple Entry employed by the St. Louis County Historical Society; and a paper by Solon J. Buck on the Minnesota Historical Society in 1927.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* is chiefly devoted to a paper on the Iowa Public Archives, by the hand of the superintendent, Mr. Cassius C. Stiles. Mr. Stiles not only sets forth what has been done in Iowa for the care and classification of the public archives, but discusses in an informing way some of the general problems that confront archivists.

The April number of the *Palimpsest* is devoted to subjects pertaining to the Indians, F. R. Aumann giving a character sketch of Keokuk, "the Watchful Fox", and discussing Indian oratory, and John E. Briggs describing the Council of Iowa (1832). In the May number Russell C. Grahame gives an account of the voyages of the *Black Hawk*, a vessel which plied the Cedar River in the years just prior to the Civil War, and J. N. Nicollet writes briefly concerning the Nicollet boundaries.

Professor Henry S. Lucas contributes to the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* a history of the Political Activities of the Dutch Immigrants from 1847 to the Civil War, and Mr. John A. Hopkins a study of monographic extent on the Economic History of the Production of Beef Cattle in Iowa.

Articles in the April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* are: Dan Carpenter, Pioneer Merchant and Horticulturist, by David W. May; the Rise and Growth of Protestant Bodies in the Missouri Territory, by Lucy Simmons; Pioneer Days in Northwest Missouri: Harrison County, 1837-1873, by Ethel G. Ingram; and the second installment of William H. Richardson's *Journal of Doniphan's Expedition*.

Articles in the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, other than continuations, are: Minor Empresario Contracts for the Colonization of Texas, 1825-1834, by Mary V. Henderson, and the Pioneer Harrisers of Harris County, by Adele B. Looscan.

Edward A. Brininstool has recently edited David L. Spott's diary, *Campaigning with Custer and the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, on the Winter Campaign, 1868-1869* (Los Angeles, Wetzel), and the autobiography of an Indian chief, *My People, the Sioux* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin).

The January number of the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* contains an article by Raymond L. Welty entitled the Frontier Army on the Missouri River, 1860-1870, one by Capt. Fred A. Bill on Steamboating

on the Red River of the North, and the third chapter of Dana Wright's paper on the Sibley Trail. In the April number Captain Bill has a further account of Steamboating on Red River, Mr. Welty an article on the Army Fort of the Frontier, while Russell Reid and Clell G. Gannon contribute some Natural History Notes on the Journals of Alexander Henry (period of 1800-1808), and Vernice M. Aldrich furnishes a diary of a journey over the plains of Dakota in 1865, together with a sketch of the diarist, Lyman K. Raymond of the Third Illinois Cavalry.

The March number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* has an article by Grant Foreman on Early Post Offices of Oklahoma; one by W. B. Morrison on Fort Arbuckle; one by E. E. Dale on Ranching on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation; and one by W. J. Fessler on the Work of the Early Choctaw Legislature, 1869-1873.

The February number of the *Colorado Magazine* contains an article by Francis T. Cheatham on Early Settlements of Southern Colorado, one by LeRoy R. Hafen on Fort Jackson and the Early Fur Trade on the South Platte, one by A. W. McHendrie on the Origin of the Name of the Purgatoire River, and one by Emma S. Hill on Empire City in the Sixties. In the April number there is an article by Chauncey Thomas on the subject of Butchering Buffalo, that is butchering buffalo for profit, as distinguished from hunting buffalo for sport, and Levette J. Davidson of the University of Denver offers a descriptive bibliography of books concerning Colorado of the period 1859-1869.

Some years ago the late Henry E. Huntington purchased (for \$15,000) at the sale of the collection of Mr. Christie-Miller, of London, the unique copy of *New Mexico, Otherwise, The Voyage of Anthony of Espicio* (London, 1587), the English translation of the account of the journey by Antonio de Espejo to New Mexico and Arizona and the Pueblo tribes in 1583. The little book, now in the Huntington Library at San Marino, Calif., has now been privately reprinted on Italian hand-made paper in an edition of two hundred copies for Mr. F. W. Hodge of the Museum of the American Indian, New York City, permission to do so having been accorded by Mr. Huntington before his death.

The April number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* contains, besides continued articles hitherto noted, some sixteen letters of William C. Lane, governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1852-1853. They were written for the most part during his incumbency as governor, a few being written from Washington (December, 1853, to March, 1854), pertaining chiefly to the settlement of his accounts.

In the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* Professor Edmond S. Meany discourses upon History and Science, meaning the progress the sciences have made in the state of Washington. Professor Meany's discourse is followed by the first of the proposed series of articles, namely, Hydro-Electric Power in Washington, by C. Edward

Magnusson. This number of the *Quarterly* also includes an article, by F. M. Sebring, on the Indian Raid on the Cascades in March, 1856, and the report of Colonel T. Morris, U. S. A., from Fort Vancouver, November 7, 1857, concerning Indian affairs.

Articles in the March number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* are: Influence of American Settlement upon the Oregon Boundary Treaty of 1846, by L. M. Scott, and the second installment of Mr. George Bennett's History of Bandon and the Coquille River. The documentary publications are: the Report of Lieut. William Peel on Oregon, 1845-1846, edited by L. M. Scott, and the diary of a young girl, Agnes Stewart, of a journey from St. Louis to Oregon in 1853. The diary is edited by Claire W. Churchill.

T. C. Russell of San Francisco is reprinting, in a limited edition, G. H. von Langsdorff's *Narrative of the Rezanov Voyage to Nueva California, in 1806*.

A Journey to Lower Oregon and Upper California, 1848-1849, by Rev. Samuel C. Damon, is published in a limited edition in San Francisco by J. J. Newbegin.

My Seventy Years in California, 1857-1927, the reminiscences of Jackson Alpheus Graves, has been published by the *Times-Mirror* Press of Los Angeles.

Under the auspices of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii there has been published an illustrated volume on *Hawaii and the World War* (pp. xix, 474) prepared by Dr. Ralph S. Kuykendall, executive secretary of the commission, and his assistant Mrs. L. T. Gill. The book gives a full narrative, not only of the participation of the islanders in military operations, but of the work of the War Relief Committee, the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., and the Knights of Columbus, and also of such matters as the action of the territory in respect to war loans, food production, and conservation. All is carefully and intelligently done.

CANADA

La Tragédie d'un Peuple; Histoire du Peuple Acadien de ses Origines à nos Jours has furnished material to Émile Lauvrière for two stout volumes, which have received the Gobert prize of the French Academy (Paris, Plon, 1928, pp. 530, 600).

Professor J. L. Morison, now of Armstrong College, formerly of Queen's University, Canada, has written, as the first of a set of biographies designed by the Canadian History Society, the life of the *Eighth Lord Elgin*, who, in the East, but more especially as governor of Canada, did much for the making of the Empire.

Vol. XXXII. of the *Harvard Economic Studies* is a treatise upon the history and character of *Grain Growers' Co-operation in Western Canada, 1900-1927* (Harvard University Press, pp. xii, 458).

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The May number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* presents an article by Professor William T. Morgan of Indiana University on the South Sea Company and the Canadian Expedition in the Reign of Queen Anne, and three papers read in the Hispanic American session of the Washington meeting of the American Historical Association: those of Professor A. S. Aiton on the Asiento Treaty as reflected in the Papers of Lord Shelburne, of Professor Vera L. Brown on Contraband Trade, a Factor in the Decline of Spain's Empire in America, and of Professor A. P. Whitaker on the Commerce of Louisiana and the Floridas at the End of the Eighteenth Century. There is also an account of that session by Professor N. A. N. Cleven; and the late Professor Manoel de Oliveira Lima describes the Portuguese manuscripts in the Ibero-American Library of the Catholic University of America.

The *Inter-American Historical Series*, mentioned in a previous number, is now planned by the University of North Carolina Press to consist of fifteen volumes, being translations of histories already written in Spanish, one covering Central America, one devoted to Santo Domingo and Haiti, one a general history of Hispanic-America, and each one of the remaining twelve covering one of the Hispanic-American countries. The translation is in each case confided to one of our well-known students of Hispanic-American history. The volumes, selected in each case by an appropriate subcommittee, will embrace such works as Señor Ricardo Levene's *Lecciones de Historia Argentina* (somewhat abridged), Senhor João Ribeiro's *Historia do Brazil*, Señor L. Galdames's *Estudio de la Historia de Chile*, Señor Luis Pérez Verdía's *Compendio de la Historia de Mexico*, and Señor Carlos Navarro y Lamarc's *Compendio de Historia de America* (somewhat abridged).

Count Corti's *Maximilian und Charlotte von Mexiko* (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX, 627) is to appear presently in an English translation published by Alfred A. Knopf.

Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, translated from the Aztec by the late Professor Eduard Seler and edited by Frau C. Seler-Sachs, Professor W. Lehmann, and Dr. W. Krickeberg (Stuttgart, Stecker and Schröder), consists of the accounts, invaluable to students of early Mexican history but hitherto not available in so satisfactory a form, of legends, ceremonies, and practices of the Aztecs, recorded by Sahagun, who arrived in Mexico only ten years after Cortés.

No. 11 of the *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano* was a first volume of documents on the movement in Iturbide's time to unite Central America with Mexico. Señor Rafael Heliodoro Valle brings out now a second volume (no. 24 of the series, pp. 469—there are to be four volumes in all), containing 292 documents, almost all dating from 1822, on the same subject.

A part of the history of commerce with the French West Indies is treated by M. Gaston Martin in a monograph on *Nantes et la Compagnie des Indes* (Paris, M. Rivière, 1927, pp. 110).

Colonel Nemours has given us the second volume of his *Histoire Militaire de la Guerre d'Indépendance de Sainte-Domingue*, which concerns itself with *Les Glorieux Combats des Divisions du Nord* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1928, pp. 448).

The Academia Nacional de Historia of Bogotá some years ago published, as vols. XXXIV. and XXXV. of the *Biblioteca Nacional de Historia*, the acts of the Congress of Angostura, 1819, and those of the Congress of Cúcuta, 1821. The former, on adjourning, left administrative and judicial though not legislative powers to a "permanent deputation", which sat during the interval and indeed from Jan. 22, 1820, to July 31, 1821. The Academy now publishes, as vol. XL., the *Actas de la Diputación Permanente del Congreso de Angostura* (pp. xvi, 336), edited by J. D. Monsalve.

The ambassador of Spain to France, Don José M. Quiñones de León, has given to the Venezuelan nation a valuable collection of manuscripts relating to the life of Bolívar, described as the private archives of the Liberator. They will become a part of the voluminous Bolívar archives installed in the house in Carácas where Bolívar was born.

Robert Harcourt's *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*, edited by C. A. Harris and published by Quaritch for the Hakluyt Society, is a valuable description of Guiana, its people and its plant and animal life, by the second Englishman to attempt a settlement in that country.

In 1921 the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, of Buenos Aires, published a *Relación Descriptiva de los Mapas, Planos, etc., del Virreinato de Buenos Aires, existentes en el Archivo General de Indias*, prepared by Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, then director of that archive. Señor José Torre Revello, the institute's representative in Spain, has now supplemented this by an *Adición á la Relación Descriptiva*, etc. (Buenos Aires, the Institute, 1927, pp. 133), adding to Don Pedro's 219 maps and plans 34 since found, and giving photographic reproductions of these and of many of those in the former work.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. M. Jacobs, translator, *Sources of Lutheran History* (Lutheran Church Quarterly, April); anon., *Coast Forts of Colonial New York* (Coast Artillery Journal, May); W. M. Gewehr, *The Rise of the Popular Churches in Virginia, 1740-1790* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); Frank G. Porter, *Robert Strawbridge and American Methodism* (Methodist Review, May-June); David S. Muzzey, *Fathers of the Republic: Legend or History?* II. (Forum, March); Bernard Fay, *His Excellency Mr. Franklin* (*ibid.*); Marcel Marion, *La France Créancière des États-Unis, 1781-1795* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); Charles P. Howland, *Our Repudiated State Debts*

(Foreign Affairs, April); Helen I. Cowan, *Early Canadian Emigration to the United States* (Dalhousie Review, April); Elizabeth Corbett, *Ulysses S. Grant* (Century Magazine, June); Maj.-Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, *Archibald Cary Coolidge, 1866-1928* (Foreign Affairs, April); William Hoster, *New Light on Goethals at Panama* (Current History, May); Lieut. Dion Williams, U. S. M. C., *The Battle of Manila Bay* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, May); W. A. Robinson, *Sixty Years of Canadian Federation* (Political Science Quarterly, March).

CORRECTION

In the January number, by a most unfortunate error, announcement was made of the death of Professor Charles Seignobos. Professor Seignobos, we are glad to say, is still continuing his work in the University of Paris.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

Dr. George A. Barton is a professor of Semitic languages in the University of Pennsylvania, and a professor of New Testament literature and language in the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia.

Dr. Carl Becker is a professor of history in Cornell University.

Miss Elizabeth Donnan is a professor of political economy in Wellesley College.

Mr. D. H. Fisher was, at one time, editor of the *Editorial Review*, and, later of the *National Marine*.

Dr. John A. Krout is an assistant professor of history in Columbia University.